DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 114 441 UD 015 477

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TITLE Mary Holmes College Research Project on Rural Blacks. Research Monograph.
INSTITUTION Mary Holmes Coll., West Point, Miss.
SPONS AGENCY National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. RANN Program.
PUB DATE [73]
NOTE 86p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$4.43 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Black Community; *Conference Reports; Economic Disadvantagement; Environmental Research; Negro Culture; *Negroes; Negro Role; *Research Needs; Research Problems; Research Projects; *Rural Areas; *Rural Economics; Rural Education; *Rural Environment; Rural Family; Rural Population; Rural Urban Differences; Southern Citizens; Southern Community; Southern States
IDENTIFIERS Alabama; Arkansas; Georgia; Mary Holmes College; Mississippi

ABSTRACT

This document reports on a conference, concerning rural blacks in four Southern states, that has as its theme the definition of the problem and research priorities relating to the development of a sense of community. A section on formal presentations includes topics such as democracy, economic progress, and research in the southern region, the university's role in rural development and research, the conditions in rural black Arkansas in 1973, the emergent or extant black community, and adolescent pregnancy. A separate section summarizes conference proceedings, followed by discussion summaries organized into four research areas, which include suggestions for both research and action. The conference is considered to have been valuable and worthwhile in that, to some extent, it provides information and action to improve the quality of life for urban blacks and guidelines and priorities for research thereof. Appendices include basic social, economic and demographic characteristics of the black rural residents in the four states considered, project information, an evaluation of the conference by participants, and a bibliography. (Author/AM)

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NSF-RA-X-74-003

ED114441

MARY HOLMES COLLEGE RESEARCH PROJECT ON RURAL BLACKS

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THEME: Developing a Sense of Community: Problem Definition and Research Priorities

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RESEARCH MONOGRAPH

MARY HOLMES COLLEGE, WEST POINT, MISSISSIPPI

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While it is customary to thank colleagues, secretaries, and family members for their help, patience, and forebearance after the completion of a work for publication, this monograph is mainly the result of interaction among decision makers, community leaders, grassroot individuals and students. Within these categories, specific individuals who contributed to the information contained herein are too numerous to mention in this short space.

However, there are several persons to whom special thanks must be accorded. Dr. Ozzie L. Edwards, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan, has provided us with efficient and patient guidance, criticism, and direction, far beyond the services inherent in his role as project consultant. "Thank you" does not adequately express our gratitude to him. Dr. Maurice Jackson, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Riverside, NSF Consultant to the project, gave valuable advice and assistance to the project and conference and helped to edit parts of this monograph. Additionally, Miss Lula Petty, Project Coordinator, performed ably throughout the project and provided editorial assistance to Dr. Edwards and Dr. Jackson. Mrs. Florine Stewart provided us with competent and conscientious secretarial assistance. Her tolerance in the face of our constant editorial changes is to be fully lauded.

Finally, we are especially grateful to and proud of the ten Mary Holmes College sophomores who, under Dr. Edwards and Dr. Jacksons guidance, complied the research data and performed many other miscellaneous and necessary tasks.

We undoubtedly could go on because we are indebted to so many persons for their direct and indirect contributions to this publication. To all of you whose names are not mentioned, please accept a heartfelt thank you.

—Marcheta T. Zuber Davis

INTRODUCTION

PROJECT RATIONALE

The face of Black America has changed radically over the past half century. Two World Wars, an equal number of "military actions", a major economic depression, several "recessions", unprecedented material affluence, and revolutionary social adjustments have left only vestiges of the former state of affairs. The Black population is no longer concentrated in the rural South. The pleasures and problems associated with Blackness are no longer those of the rural Southerner. Today, the "urban problem" and the "Black problem" have become virtually synonomous concepts in most minds. To laymen and professionals alike, there is reciprocal identification of Blacks with places like Chicago, Baltimore, New York, and Houston.

Justifiably so. Today, four out of five Blacks live in urban places. Almost half of the Black population lives outside of the South. Just half a century ago, nearly ninety percent of all Blacks were in the South and almost that many were on farms. At that time, virtually all of the research and social planning directed toward Blacks centered upon the rural southern context. The literature reflected this focus. Today, one is hard pressed to find research and writing concerned with rural Blacks. Certainly, the major social and economic programs tend to aim their thrusts toward the Black urbanite.

But the Black rural southerner has not disappeared altogether. There are still more than 4.2 million Blacks living in rural areas. Almost a half million of them are rural farm residents. The vast majority are southerners. The number of southern Black rural residents is greater than that of all "other" nonwhite Americans combined. They can no more be ignored in the consideration of Blacks than can the latter in the consideration of the total U.S. population. But they have been unduly ignored by both social scientists and practitioners. This report summarizes the results of an effort to rectify that inequity.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The opportunity to pursue an investigation of the current state of affairs for rural southern Blacks grew out of the National Science Foundation Workshop held in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Summer, 1970. The workshops examined ways in which Black institutions of higher learning may provide Black people with the means through which they might meet lifes needs in the 70's. And from the workshops came a number of suggestions for research projects which would be within the capabilities of smaller, predominately Black colleges to implement and would bear potential benefits for the Black population in general, and for rural southern Blacks in particular. In this conference, the author and John W. Bennett, Academic Dean, Mary Holmes College, initiated the process which culminated in the Mary Holmes College Research Project and subsequently, the Conference which focused on rural Blacks. The costs of the Project and the Conference were underwritten by the Research Applied to National Needs Branch (RANN) of the Office of Exploratory Research and Problem Assessments of the National Science Foundation.

From the outset it was agreed that there were decided benefits to be derived from having the project based in a small, rural, predominately Black college. To do so provided entree to the subject population which would hardly have been available otherwise. At the same time, it provided valuable training and experience for the staff and student body of the host college. The latter is a service hard to secure given the current scheme of federal funding for research. Thus, the project is the outgrowth of one of the few federally funded research grants awarded to a two-year, predominately Black educational institution.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

During the early conference planning period, it became clear that an effort of maximum benefit to the National Science Foundation, other funding agencies, and to social scientists, and especially to the target group: rural Blacks, would be that which served to determine research priorities with respect to the Black rural population. For example, it was necessary to raise the following questions: What is the situation of rural Blacks? What kind of information is needed by action agencies in order for them to deal more effectively with the wide range of problems facing rural Blacks? What are the most pressing of these information deficiencies?

These are the issues which the Project was established to resolve. The initial steps toward reaching a resolution began with the research stage of the Project and culminated with the Conference.

PROJECT METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The work of the Project was conducted in two phases. The first comprised a systematic survey of sources of current information on the rural Black population. This engaged the services of ten Mary Holmes College students for the greater part of a summer term. This research process involved students in the collection and analysis of secondary information, and at the same time provided them with worthwhile research training and experience. It also provided a base of information which supplemented the first-hand knowledge and experience of those who took part in the second phase of the Project. A summary of the survey appears in the Appendix to this report.

The second phase of the Project was a conference on Black rural life, bringing together laymen and professionals who were interested in and knowledgeable about the current state of affairs. The conference was called the Mary Holmes College Research Conference on Rural Blacks and had as its theme "Developing a Sense of Community: Problem Definition and Research Priorities". Because of the need for efficiency and because it was felt that the problems of rural Blacks may be generalized from state to state, attention was limited to the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi, both in the survey and at the conference.

CONFERENCE FORMAT AND PERSONNEL

The conference site was Mary Holmes College, the host institution for the Project. A brief description of the school and community is included in the Appendix to this report. The conference proceedings were limited to an intensive four-day weekend, September 14-17, 1973. Formal presentations, one on each of the four content areas, provided a catalyst for discussions. These presentations, together with the keynote address, constitute Part II of this report. Each formal address was followed by discussions which used the addresses as springboards, although they were by no means confined to the content of the addresses.

Conference participants were assigned to specific discussion groups on a random basis and remained with these groups until the final session when participants were grouped by states in the interest of establishing state-specific priorities. Summary presentations of these discussions by abstractors, whose task it was to give a concise statement of the proceedings in each of the four discussion groups as well as a precis of the presenters' papers, form the core of Part III of this report.

Invitations to participate in the conference were guided by an effort to focus conference content on economic, political, educational, and welfare conditions of the rural Black population in the four-state area. The aim was to have both lay and professional representation for each of these content areas from each of the four states and to restrict the number of participants to manageable and functional groups. The list of potential participants was based on recommendations from strategically located persons in the four-state areas.

CONFERENCES ADDRESSES

Included in this section is the keynote address and four other major addresses presented to the conference. Speakers were given general guidelines for their presentations, but they were allowed freedom as to specific content. The formal addresses constitute the major emphases of the conference. They were important in themselves as they were presented to the conference participants at large. Next, the participants in four pre-arranged groups discussed the addresses. The themes of the discussions, based on reports of recorders, are presented in later summaries. They are followed by the statements of abstractors who summarized the addresses.

The first of the major addresses is the keynote address by Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Henderson discusses general modern democratic tendencies, economic progress, and needed research in the South.

It is followed by the presentations of Dr. Theodore James Pinnock. He stresses the need for one institution, the educational, to assist in rural community development.

The next paper by Mr. Elijah Coleman relates to the situation of rural Blacks in Arkansas. In it he spells out specific concern with politics, employment and education.

Dr. Benjamin's address is concerned with the development of Black communities: their realistic existence, demise or extinction. He outlined specific needs of the Black community as centered around education and political participation.

Finally, Dr. Clara Johnson treats a specific area of importance to rural Blacks, adolescent pregnancy. She highlights the relation of fertility to poverty.

Conference Speakers

This section presents some biographical information on the major addressees.

1. **Dr. Vivian Henderson** has served as President of Clark College in the Atlanta University Center since 1965. He is also a nationally recognized economist, with a Ph.D. degree in economics from the University of Iowa.

His numerous directorships include the National Bureau of Economic Research, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, and the National Sharecroppers Fund. He is founding member of the Black Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the Georgia Advisory Commission of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and vice president of the National Association for Equal Op-

portunity in Higher Education. He received appointments to numerous task forces and commissions under former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

His research studies have centered around the Black labor market. His recent writings have dealt with higher education and race relations.

2. **Dr. Theodore James Pinnock** is an Associate Professor of Sociology as well as Director of the Human Resources Development Center at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He holds the M.S. in Agricultural Education from Tuskegee Institute and the Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Pinnock's work experiences include serving as County Extension Agent, Director of the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training Program, Reviewer for USAID, and Director and Co-producer of a film on rural development, "Close to Home". He has held several consultantships in the area of rural community development. He has written a number of publications. Three which are especially related to rural Blacks are the following: Results of an Exploratory Study of Functional Illiterates in Macon County, Alabama, Human Resources Development—An Emerging Role for Black Professionals in Higher Education, and Rural Community Development—A Challenge for the 1890 Colleges.

3. **Mr. Elijah Coleman** is Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He was a high school principal for several years. He has several affiliations, a few of which are memberships with the Board of Trustees of Arkansas State University, the President's State Advisory Committee on Education, and the Governor's Human Resources Commission. Mr. Coleman holds the M.Ed. from the University of Arkansas and has done further study in educational administration at the University of Oklahoma.

4. **Dr. Rommel Benjamin** is presently Sociology Professor, at Jackson State University. He was Professor of Sociology at Mississippi Valley State College, Itta Bena, Miss. from 1961-1968. He holds the B.S. and M.A. degree in Sociology from Atlanta University and the Ph.D. from Mississippi State University.

5. **Dr. Clara Johnson** is Research Associate at the University of Georgia in Athens. She holds the M.A. in Counseling and Guidance from Atlanta University and the Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Georgia. Dr. Johnson has been a high school counselor. She was also project researcher for the Office of Economic Opportunity. She has held consultantships in the area of family planning and presented several papers, one of which was entitled, "Adolescent Pregnancy and Poverty: Implications for Social Policy".

DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC PROGRESS, AND RESEARCH IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

By DR. VIVIAN HENDERSON

This paper has three objectives: 1) to analyze recent democratic tendencies which offer a framework for viewing the southern region and its rural areas; 2) to focus on factors conditioning southern economic progress, particularly the demographic changes that occurred in the last few decades; and 3) to specify research needs for the region and the four states emphasized at this conference.

Issues facing the South today and the rural areas of the South may emerge from traditional and persistent problems with which we are all familiar, some of these are continued racism, discrimination and segregation, anti-unionism, distrust and suspicion of the federal government, preservation of the status quo, and perhaps a warped philosophy of agrarianism. Moreover, the South is faced with a rural-dominated legislature, ultra-conservative representatives in the United States Congress, low wage industry, hungry children, poverty, and a host of poor people left behind during a time of progress and prosperity.

Forces that appear to be decreasing the depth and impact of these problems are of recent vintage. These forces are not confined to rural areas. They are the forces of urbanization and technological training. Cities and metropolitan areas are trying to carry the South into the mainstream of America and the world while they themselves are being confronted with new problems resulting from urbanization and technological change.

Many of the South's problems are the nation's problems. They are basically urban problems in contrast to a few years ago when they were basically rural and confined to the South. Then, the overwhelming proportion of Black Americans lived in the South and in densely populated rural areas of the South. It is a fact that the Black population today is more dispersed throughout the country than it was a few years ago. Not only that, but problems faced by the South are projected on a national rather than a regional scale. For instance, in Clay County, Mississippi, the problems faced by Blacks in the areas of employment, housing, education, welfare rights, health improvement, hunger, and malnutrition are only different in limited ways from those faced by Blacks in other regions of America. Furthermore, the differences that are evident may, in all probability, be positive for Clay countians because there is some hope for Black residents here with regard to the availability and acquisition of land but little hope in this regard in major cities throughout the country.

The solutions to the problems mentioned above have lost some of their dominant regional character and have become national in scope. There is evidence that many Southern Black residents have progressed economically, educationally, socially, politically, and racially, in spite of the large number who have not. These gains have been tied directly to national programs, national policies and national trends. Therefore, it may be irrelevant to place those who live in the South in a regional context or even in a rural context.

There are differences between the South and other regions, however, which suggest that opportunities for the South, even at this late hour, are available if mistakes evidenced in the North are avoided. The South not only has a history of problems such as demographic politics, backward agrarianism, demeaning race relations, racial dualism, and hate; it also has a history of Black and white poverty existing side by side. Furthermore, urbanization has not developed extensively in the South and technology still is relatively underdeveloped.

Democratizing the region and democratizing the South are the strategies that will help to avoid the abuses of urbanization and technological advancement that characterize the North. It is for so many reasons along these lines that I argue for recognition of opportunities in the rural areas. Yet, the twofold problem continues. Rural areas and Black people living in these areas continue to be neglected; and consequently Blacks continue their flight to the inner cities. Thus, the strategies that we design must interwine so that we may attack the problems of the inner city and, at the same time, attack the problems of the rural areas.

There is another matter which warrants our attention. The rural non-farm situation is one that is virtually neglected in our research, in our thinking, and in our development of strategies. While people have mourned the decline of the Black rural farm population, they have ignored the rise of the rural non-farm population.

There are several focuses that can be identified as ultimate goals in planning strategies to improve the quality of life for rural residents. The following three are most important; the developments of national policies to (1) promote full employment, (2) combat poverty, and (3) provide improved transportation. Even today, an assault on poverty, the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation in schools, hospitals and employment, and the redistribution of the Black population between the South and other regions are not accepted themes of national policy. However, the needs created by the foregoing factors have been most important in influencing national policies to effect those changes that have occurred in the southern region and which have raised the social and economic status of rural Blacks thus far. Little, however has been done at the local and state level in the South, and particularly in Mississippi, to bring about similar changes. Only to the extent that national policies have forced the issue has there been change. Furthermore and significantly, to the extent that national policies continue to force the issue and Blacks continue to engage in the political process at the local and state level will we see the full expression of the potentiality in these regions.

What type of changes have occurred in the southern regions? One of the things that is happening today, in contrast to a decade ago, and particularly prior to 1968, is that Black people appear to be moving in large proportions, within the southern region, into urban centers, central cities, and rural non-farm areas.

Per-capital income is another example of change. Its improvement can be seen as economic progress. And by the standard of per capita income, Black men and women in the South have achieved great economic progress. In 1940, for example, the per capita income of residents in the four states under discussion here was 51 percent of that of the rest of the nation. By 1960, it had risen to 62 percent; by 1964, to 69 percent; and today to approximately 70 percent of that of the rest of the nation.

This means that the South has experienced an increase in per capital income in relationship to the rest of the nation. But most of that gain came between 1940 and the immediate post-war period after World War II. To be specific, between 1940 and 1955, there was a gain of 50 percent in per capita income for the South in relationship to the rest of the country. Since 1955, there has been a gain of only 5 percent, an insignificant gain to say the least.

It should be pointed out that the redistribution of the Black population between the South and the non-South was a major factor in generating the apparent increase in per capita income. For example, Black people left the South in large numbers between 1940 and 1960 in response to better employment opportunities outside the region and to the pressure of racial segregation and discrimination within. Three million Black people migrated from the South in the decade between 1950 and 1960. This relieved the pressure of people and poverty. Specifically, the South was relieved of the necessity of allocating among the migrated population the new non-agricultural opportunities which came into the region with increased capital income, (a benefit the South will not enjoy in the future).

The 1970 Census indicates that the day of heavy out migration of Blacks as a factor in Southern progress is over, perhaps for three reasons: employment opportunities for skilled workers are diminishing outside the South; Blacks have discovered that northern racial ghettos are not the promised land; and reverse migration trends are increasing to such southern cities as Jackson, Mississippi; New Orleans, Houston, Memphis, and Atlanta.

The grave problem in the South today is underemployment. In planning strategy for the improvement of the rural Black community, this conference must not ignore this problem area. This four state region continues to be the most depressed area of the nation. Per capita income of Black people in Mississippi averages approximately $1,160 dollars per year. Income in Mississippi for families of 5.3 persons averages $2,600.00 per year, about $200 dollars per month. In addition, eighty-five percent of the 200 most poverty-stricken counties in the U.S. are located in the South. Approximately, 360 counties in the country labeled "hunger" counties are all located in the 13 Southern states, and Mississippi has its share.

This crisis that we have in urban areas results from the crisis of neglect in rural areas. It is the crisis of our failure to develop and utilize existing resources and opportunities. We have only to look at the patterns of industrial development in the South and elsewhere to understand the importance of the point of nonfarm rural areas. Much of the existing development has taken place in these areas. But Black folks are not getting much of the action. For example, the President's Economic Report indicates that in seven metropolitan areas studied 975,000 new jobs became available in rural non-farm locations within these areas from 1940 to 1942. The central cities in these same areas gained only 60,000 new jobs.

Insofar as the rural areas are concerned, I think there are two points to be made. First, there are the dynamics of strained race relations which continue as a central factor in the life of rural growth and development. Secondly, it is essential in both rural and urban areas that we recognize the necessity for color consciousness. While I do not believe in racial separatism, I do believe that careful and intelligent use of color consciousness underlies any workable strategy.

The following are specific elements of the rural strategy that I recommend (1) redeployment of the population; 2) redeployment of schools and school resources as well as students; 3) relocation of more houses and health facilities as well as offices and plants; 4) incorporation of cities in the rural areas occupied by Black and poor people in order that they may qualify for the national policy benefits of food, housing, and hospitals; 5) development of resources and opportunities for rural peoople where they are and the implementation of reverse migration away from the cities back to the rural areas; 6) encouragement of certain kinds of racial enterprises; 7) concentration on development of political power and economic power among Black people and 8) preparation of students at institutions like Mary Holmes or Clark for working in other communities as well as in the Black community

In speaking of colleges, it is important to see Mary Holmes College, Clark College, and other colleges as important resources. They have the capabilities that can be exploited and the resources that can be used to develop leadership for the areas with which we are concerned.

Let us now turn to the strategy of economic development.

First, this institution where we are today is in all probability the largest in this community. It is probably the most significant economic institution in the community. The opportunities for economic development that can be generated by this institution can be made available in the fields of housing., health, education, labor, and manpower development in addition to existing programs.

Secondly, we must take a serious look at the areas of natural resources and manpower development. For example, with Black people, research on land and the development of land banks is important in telling us how we can acquire, hold, and use additional land in rural areas. I am amazed at and disturbed by the decline in land ownership among Black people in the rural areas of the South.

Firally, there is the matter of cooperating with community development efforts. It is important to support the rural areas in their development of strategies and to give leadership to these strategies. Community development cooperation can provide the experience for Blacks and poor people to train managers, to train people to negotiate with the system, to develop community organizations. Yes! Even to develop political leadership, and to generate jobs and businesses.

The planning for rural development in turn, involves research. The critical thing here is that Black people must be part of the leadership planning for conducting research.

Priorities in research should follow along these lines. First of all, the research should be applied research. I would not waste my time with theoretical research. I would leave that for some other folks to do.

Secondly, priorities should be given to public policy research. I am amazed at how little is done by educational institutions to support CDC and the rural policy effort and by the failure of these institutions to conduct public policy research. We know today that we have over 1000 Black elected officials in the South. Most of them know nothing about public policy; therefore, it is up to insttutions like Clark and Mary Holmes to see that elected officials are educated in the field of public policies. If anything comes out of this conference, at least it should be some conceptualization of systematic, sophisticated, and high level applied public policy research. Summarizing and getting this research into the hands of people who can and will use it will make this a worthwhile conference.

A third priority should be operation research and analysis. Here, I would be concerned with cost benefit analysis; what is worth duplicating? what is not worth duplicating? Take the CDC's again. They are making mistakes but little is being documented in this regard. They are having success also, but again little is being documented in this regard. Operation research and analysis would document successes and failures, and thus, help facilitate decisions for further action. We must develop researchers in this area.

Fourth, priority should be given to labor market research and analysis. Labor market research and analysis involves knowing not what the Chamber of Commerce wants you to know, but knowing what there actually is to be known. This is a very highly neglected area in the Black community. Only through research on labor markets can we discover the wide framework within which the rural and non rural farm areas operate.

Finally, demography and population research must continue as a priority. Specifically, I would emphasize research on migration patterns within the rural areas, between the urban and rural areas, between cities and towns, and between states within the region. It is important to determine the causes of migration. Further items for study might involve job market adjustment problems, i.e., what kind of adjustment must be made by the farmers and workers in the city. And this study needs to be engineered in such a fashion that it results in recommendations for public policy at the national, state, and local levels.

These represent priorities of an immediate nature. Therefore, let's set about the first task of research, then, let's move to the second and urgent business of implementation.

THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS ROLE IN RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH

By DR. THEODORE JAMES PINNOCK

University and the Rural Community

The thesis of this paper is that universities and colleges can make a contribution to the social and economic problems of mankind and that they should do so. Universities, in general, are concerned with teaching and research, and many argue that their function should stop there. It would be disastrous, however, for the United States and much of the world today if university efforts in agriculture, for example, were confined to teaching and research.

The state Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, charged with administering the Cooperative Extension Service, have made America the greatest food-producing country in the world. Although the production was done by the farmers who accepted and implemented the practices that were demonstrated in the field, there is absolutely no doubt that the universities and colleges had the commitment and developed the expertise to do the job.

It is also true that this type of university involvement had an effect upon the urban rural population distribution. For as it is well known, the solution of one problem often give rise to a series of other problems. So, as farmers became more sophisticated and efficient, fewer persons were needed in the farming industry. Thus, America was faced with additional manpower which drifted into the cities to seek employment. While this exodus from rural to urban areas was taking place, it was not until recently that the universities gave serious attention to this phenomenon and its emerging problems. Today, American cities are in a crisis, and this will continue to be so until the universities and colleges commit themselves to do something about them.

It seems clear that we must look at our society and begin to reorder our priorities in a realistic way. For example, the next fifty years should be a period of investment in rural communities. I am not implying that urban communities are hopeless. What I am thinking is that if and when rural life is made more rewarding, the pressure on urban communities will be greatly relieved. In the 1930's and 1940's when America was striving to become an urban-industrial giant, little, if any, thought was given to the problem of air pollution of environmental quality. Yet, a warning about the ill effects of urban life was issued by the Roman writer Seneca as early as 61 A.D. when he wrote:

> "As soon as I had gotten out of the heavy air of Rome and from the stink of the smoky chimney thereof, which being stirred, poured forth whatever pestilent vapors and soot they had held enclosed in them, I felt an alteration of my disposition."

We now know that no one listened and today we are facing the consequences. These consequences can be alleviated by peoople returning to the rural areas.

Let us not repeat our mistakes, let us not look at world segments; let us not look at races or ethnic groups; **let us, for the survival of man and this world, look at a community of human beings, a community of brothers and sisters and begin to work as intellectuals toward solving those problems affecting our brothers wherever they may be.** Thomas Paine, in his wisdom and certainly, as a futurist, once said:

> "The World is my country.
> All men are my brothers,
> and to do good is my religion."

Universities and colleges around the world must commit themselves to doing good for mankind. They must get together and exchange ideas, and they must, if any change is to occur, determine their course of action. Further refinement of the atomic weapons is no longer important because we are living in a potential graveyard; but certainly, further refinement of the opportunities for life for all is urgent and pressing. I pray that the universities and colleges will recognize this challenge and will commit themselves now to deal with it.

The Need for Changed Universities

Knowledge is now central to society. It is wanted, even demanded, by more people and more institutions and agencies than ever before. Knowledge today is for everybody's sake.

The university as producer, wholesaler, and retailer of knowledge cannot escape service. Dr. Robert Park, President of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, puts it in rather succinct and clear language:

> "Institutions of higher education, having resources and capabilities, both social and technological, and which are potentially and actually of value in the solution of national problems, have a responsibility to serve the public welfare beyond on-campus teaching and research. To enable these resources to be more effectively utilized, institutions must relate productively to external groups, agencies, organizations, and associations to provide services."

We shall note here that service is the key to university efforts to become an agent of change. However, there are those who fear the involvement of the university in the life of society. They fear that the university will lose its objectivity and freedom. There are those who fear that the university will be drawn too far from basic and applied research to application itself. These fears are all unfounded. In fact, where intellectual inertia overrides reasoning concerning the university's involvement in community life, change is not likely to occur. And it is important to note that institutions, large and small, that are resistant to change are destined to die.

It is my judgment that the social forces and factors impinging on universities today will, in fact, force them to serve and to become involved in change. It is further my judgment that universities will no longer remain the domain of the chosen few who, by virtue of finance and or intellect, are able to attend. They will, in the foreseeable future, become the "people's university". The implications are far-reaching and probably revolutionizing, but the fact is that the educated few do not reserve the right to stand by and watch the rest of the world suffer. They must serve in the true sense of service.

Universities and colleges must begin now to develop a plan for community services. This plan should be no less important than the lesson plan for the classroom. The plan should be rigorously implemented by all facets of the community. Communities, in general, know what their needs are, but often they do not have the expertise to meet them. The university should, therefore, put its available resources to work in helping communities solve their social and economic problems. It is not enough to have the architectural student design houses that are suitable for a given rural area or country; it is not enough to have engineering students design bridges to get across the stream; change will only come when professors and students get into that community and show people how to build houses and how to build bridges. The real classroom then becomes the community where students and non-students can learn alike, while at the same time affording the community full benefits.

These are the kinds of changes that must take place in the universities today, and these are the kinds of changes that will enhance community development.

The University Working in the Community

Community development is an enterprise for individuals, and it must be built by individuals. For without the active participation of individuals at all levels of the society, community development is but a myth.

We know that every individual is basically a social being. He cannot live a healthy life in an unhealthy society. Unless his social needs are met by a constructive community life situation in which he can be a truly effective participant, he will either seek or drift into destructive habits. He will become, to a large degree, whatever his environment makes him, and his environment is primarily the community in which he lives and has his being. His community, not the school, is his great educator. Since environment, social and physical, is something from which he cannot escape, he is continuously educated for behavior that is either constructive or destructive throughout his life on this earth. Thus, in order to live at optimum levels of health and personal well-being, in order to occupy a truly significant role in society, most individuals need a certain kind of environment.

The university can help bring about the necessary kind of community environment. Universities working in the community is not by any means new. They have worked well in the community before with crops and animals; now they must work in the community with people and their problems. Any problem affecting the development of communities today must be a concern of the universities, whether such problems are related to health, unemployment, illiteracy, housing, population, crime, drug addiction, race relations or even religion. The

universities' concern must go well beyond abstract discussions and intellectual gyrations; they must develop a plan of action with the people and work with the people to implement that plan.

Conclusion

Universities and colleges should recognize that the most pressing question facing us today is how to make the quality of life more rewarding for all mankind. This task is challenging and requires the imaginations of the most aggressive individuals within the universities and colleges. Institutionalized academic parameters, as established by some of the more conservatives institutions of higher learning, should now give way to the more liberal institutions that are beginning to show some real concern for community development.

If universities intend to address themselves to the problems of community development, some basic changes in philosophy and action are necessary:

1. There must be a commitment on the part of the university boards of trustees and administrators.
2. Funds must be committed to the program.
3. A full-time dedicated and qualified staff must be selected.
4. All segments of the university-faculty and students-must be involved.
5. Specific program goals and tasks must be established in cooperation with the community.
6. Work geared toward accomplishing the goals should be organized within specific time frames.

Certainly, there will be opposition to some changes within the university. However, if we expect to provide opportunities for all people to accomplish at least economic efficiency as well as civic responsibility, we must start now to create the "peoples' university" which I have described in this paper.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDITIONS OF RURAL BLACK ARKANSANS: 1973

By ELIJAH COLEMAN

I would like to share with you some of my thoughts, observations, analyses, hopes. and fears with regard to the specific problems of politics, employment, and education as they relate to the rural Black community in Arkansas. I have deliberately chosen the areas of politics, employment, and education because, in my judgment, they are all parts of the same whole. Improvements in any of the three areas have immediate and profound influence on the other two areas. By the same token, "back sliding" in any one of the three areas will cause equally immediate and profound disasters in the other two areas.

Politically speaking, the problems and responses to the problems of the rural Black community are significantly different from those of the urban Black community. In Arkansas we find that the rural Black community—in terms of social and political action—is more likely to respond with less suspicion and distrust to a community call for action. The forthcoming action will result more from a real anguish felt by the members of that community than would be the case in our urban areas. Consequently, we find that in the 1970's the most effective organizing, the most dynamic politicizing, the most active grass roots participation, and the most measurable change occurred in the rural Black communities of Arkansas.

There have been a number of changes in the political situation of the rural Black community in Arkansas. As some of you might know, I have been associated with the Arkansas Voter Education Project, a project funded by the Atlanta-based VEP, INC., since 1964, while at the same time serving as Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Project was formed in 1967. In that year, there were approximately 35 Black elected officials in our state (most of these were Black school board members from previously gerrymandered all Blacks school districts. In the entire South there were not more than 250 such officials. So, at the time we held less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of the elected offices in the South. However, we were more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of the population of the South. . .and have been ever since slavery was first introduced into the South. Now, in 1973, there are at least 146 Black elected officials in the state (the Land of Opportunity) and over 75 percent of them are in the rural areas of the state. In the South we account for 1200 officials.

Since Arkansas was not included in the total legislation of the 1964 Voting Rights Act, the political dynamics in Arkansas are not so much a function of the Voting Rights Acts as might be the case in other southern states. For many areas of the state, the white structure (which is synonymous with power) has sought to insure our political participation at some levels. In many parts of southern Arkansas "the Man" has consistently insured that Blacks were not only

registered, but that we had a poll tax receipt; in other areas of eastern Arkansas, however, it has been so arranged that the cotton would not wait for tomorrow, and we never got the day off to vote.

What is different in Arkansas's Black politics is that we had a rich man move from New York, who built a castle, a lake, and all the rest, on a mountain of stone from which flowed "plenty"...some good, some bad, some indifferent. The emergence of Winthrop Rockefeller on the political scene meant that there was some prospect for the development of a two-party system in the state. Since in Arkansas, we had had primarily negative experiences with democrats (remember Faubus, he was once considered the most progressive Democratic in the state) the prospect of a two-party system bode well for the rural and urban Black Arkansans. If the party was to develop, it seemed logical that it would seek the favor of the Black community because of this community's energy, desire, and numerical strength. Suddenly Blacks were on Republican County Commissions, at state conventions, and on the staff of the party with real live field workers, and with money available for the development of the party. Money had circulated through the Black community in the past, but now there was an exchange. When votes were sold and when money was exchanged for partisan favors, we saw Blacks in many psoitions, and we could make decisions concerning many more areas of life. In addition, we saw the emergence of Black Republication candidates for local, county, and state office. Obviously, there was some success, since we now have 146 black elected officials which gives Arkansas the second highest number of Black officials of any southern state in the country.

This is not in itself a mark of progress. It is not the case that the racism of the state suddenly subsided and white citizens became willing to evaluate all candidates in terms of their ability to serve the people...all the people. It is the case, however, that much work, anguish and frustration went into the election of these officials. Some observers would also point out that our presence on the ballot helped the white candidates running for state-wide offices to win their races. Rockefeller would have had a difficult time winning had there not been Black candidates on the ballots in many of the areas of eastern and southern Arkansas.

Still, it is 1973 and we have had the Republican party, we have had Winthrop Rockefeller, and we have had the repeal of the poll tax literacy tests (which were never much used in Arkansas). Also, voter registration drives and citizenship education programs have occurred in nearly every Black settlement. We would even contend that voter registration and education activities being carried on in Arkansas have been the Black communities' life blood.

Still we are denied access to the total political process. If politics is the study of "Who Gets What and Why", then the state's rural Black community and our brothers are now within the mainstream of Arkansas politics. However, it was only during the most recent school board race in the state that the law requiring a candidate to own land in the district was declared unconstitutional. Furthermore, white elected officials who are seated from predominantly Black areas still fail to realize the responsibility they have to their Black constituency; they do not realize that patronage should be ours and that partisan favors should be forthcoming. This is a basic inconsistency found not only in the realm of politics, but also observable in each of the other areas I am going to mention today.

The employment situation to which we now turn is very interesting in the state of Arkansas. In a number of ways, it is an amplification of the political situation. Some, if not all of you, are aware of the changes that the present national administration is making in methods of allocating monies for what are termed, "social programs". We have seen the General Revenue Sharing Program introduced in Congress, defeated by Congress, reintroduced and then passed. Similar efforts have been made on behalf of Special Revenue Sharing Programs for manpower, education, and other areas. As the situation now stands with regard to our state, the Regional Department of Labor has advised us that the total number of manpower programs sponsored must be reduced from approximately 13 major sponsors to 8, since a form of revenue sharing for manpower programs is forthcoming. It is interesting to note that our state is also divided into 8 planning and development districts. . .all of which have, in my judgment, during the past 5-7 years, exhibited only the most racist behavior in their planning and development activities.

An immediate result of the realignment of programs is that many of the agencies that have operated manpower programs, and which have Black executive directors, will lose sponsorship, and other agencies with white directors will become the main manpower program sponsors in the area. This decision on the realignment of sponsorship will be made by the advisory boards of the Planning & Development Districts. If the political "system" worked well and if it were, although controlled by the white community, responsive to the rural Blacks, such a situation would not occur. But somehow the social dynamics in our state have become so sophisticated that Blacks are no longer considered "disadvantaged" "culturally deprived", "poor", "exploited" or whatever. We are now looked on "just like anybody else" and, with that rationalization, programmed not only for manpower activities, but for anything "social" in terms of "efficiency" or "sound planning for the area" rather than in terms of the needs of Black folks.

As if planning for manpower activities was not bad enough, the historic lack of labor unions in the South and in Arkansas, specifically, does much to preclude Black financial advancement. The per capita income of the Black community in counties in eastern and southern Arkansas ranges from $706.00 a year in Monroe County to $1,397.00 in Howard County. The State's Right to Work Law and its dislike for strong, or even weak, labor organizations result in the state's attracting industry on the basis of low wage expectations for those competing in the labor markets of Arkansas. This point was dramatically shown during a recent statewide political contest where one of the most serious indictments leveled by the incumbent was that the challenger received large contributions from organized labor.

As I review the employment situation for rural Blacks, I wonder why there are no Black game wardens, Black state patrolmen (one holding a desk job at the state headquarters)! Moreover, I wonder why the federal bureaucracy is slow to respond to complaints of discrimination filed by Blacks in rural areas (a lag of two years from complaint to action is not uncommon). I also wonder why the government calls itself progressive when it institutes an affirmative action program, a system that makes finding and applying for job openings more

complicated than it was in the past (we might notice that this was done at the time when the Black community was learning how to break through the old personnel system). I also wonder why, even with the new system, the administration allows a vacancy such as head of the Department of Social Services to be filled by a non-Black. Finally, I wonder why it is considered progressive to appoint Blacks to fill the "Equal Opportunity" posts in state agencies and to give them a title, but not a salary increase.

The situation is grave and is a direct result of the kind and degree of political involvement and exchange between the Black community and the white community. In my opinion, it is particularly in rural areas where the racism is so obvious, so odious, so omnipresent, that we have allowed political involvement to be defined in terms of running for office rather than in terms of coalitions and trade-offs, what we used to call simply "dealing", with those likely to win elections. When this type of political involvement occurs in the rural Black community, then we will begin to see the repeal of the Right to Work Laws and the appointment of Blacks to head state agencies.

It seems clear that the presence of only four black policemen on the state police force is traceable to the absence of the broader kinds of political involvement that I discussed. Furthermore, it is a result of that fact that the state police department has developed an ineffectual affirmative action program which the state police administration is not being pressured to improve. Lastly, it is a result of the educational program we have in this state.

That educational program is one characterized by low wages, unaccredited schools, white dominated boards, white administrators in areas with high minority populations, and a preoccupation to turn out students who best approximate the white middle-class image that some segments of the total population deem to be the most desirable end-product of a public education.

The few vocational schools in the state are of limited value to Black students; and a majority of these schools in the state are located in areas with a high Black population. Yet, there are no black counselors available (this is true of the public school system in general), and there is an absence of Black administrators in these schools. This becomes crucial as the state embarks on its attempt to develop a county junior college system that is locally controlled. A major criterion established by the State Advisory Commission on Community Junior Colleges is that the institutions be located near to and work with the local vo-tech schools. If the vo-tech schools, then, do not respond to the needs of the rural Black student, we can accurately assume that the attached community junior college will also be an institution designed to serve the caprices of the white communities.

It is important to apply more than passing consideration to the vo-tech system in our state. Within the public school system per se only 1.7 percent of the total monies available in the 1971-72 school budget went into preparing students for the "world of work". A majority of the funds went into academic preparation for students who would go on to some form of higher education. This is curious since over 50 percent of the new job openings in the 1970's will require post high school work other than college. Yet our desire to have everyone fit the white economic middle or upper class mold causes the state to continue to favor

academic preparation rather than to initiate diversified vocational training. The State Health Department and Health Planning Department recognize the need for trained health para-professional. Why does our vo-tech curriculum fail to show this same concern? The state has allowed the myth that vo-tech is designed to permit poor kind, dumb kids, and kids other than those with traditional upwardly-mobile aspirations to continue in school. In fact, Arkansas, by design, may be helping this myth grow stronger with every passing day. This would not be an important concern were it not for the fact that 20 percent of our students leave school before the 9th grade and 44 percent leave before graduation. Our present system prepared these students for nothing.

I will not dwell on this point too long since there are other areas that must at least be mentioned. We could point out a situation that many consider very subtle. It was the transformation of the status of AM&N, the Black institution of higher learning, into a branch of the University of Arkansas. This was said to have been done to improve the management of the university. Yet it was done just when the Department of HEW was threatening to file suit against the UA for discrimination since at that point there were only 2 Black professional faculty members at UA's main campus. Once AM&N became a part of the UA system, the entire UA faculty became immediately darker. Yet, AM& had always had more white faculty members than all of the Black professors at the other eight major colleges combined. This is progress in the "Land of Opportunity".

The integration process in the public school system has caused the same changes in Arkansas that have occurred in other areas of the South. Black children find very few Black authority figures in most school systems. The same children must then try to figure out why people of their color are not qualified to be administrators. If the world operates fairly, and there are no Black administrators, then it must be a question of qualifications—at least this is one way for the Black child to respond. I remember when I was a student in a small Black school in southern Arkansas, everyone knew about Booker T. Washington, Harriet Tubman, and W.E.B. DuBois. We did not necessarily study "Black history". It was just that in our history class we learned about what really happened in this country.

I met recently with a group of college students in a session on Black history. Of the 38 students who had attended "integrated" schools, only one knew about Booker T. Washington and the legacy he left. I do not want to idealize Washington, nor do I want to idealize the Black school system, we are all too familiar with both. I do, however, want to point out that much of what we took for granted under the Black school system can no longer be taken for granted.

It might just be the case there there is now little that can be taken for granted. We cannot leave politicians to their own devices. We cannot look on political involvement as simply running for and voting for Black candidates. We cannot assume that the establishment of affirmative action plans at the state and federal levels means that job opportunities will open up for Black citizens of my home state and your state. And we cannot assume that because we have new buildings being constructed, Black history classes being instituted, or the "old Black school" facility being turned over to community organizations in the Black community that the white folks have seen the light (or the promised land) and will

allow us. . .permit us. . .a place in the Sun.

All we should reightfully assume is that the future depends on what we do today. It depends on the kind of fight we put up in our daily struggles with a racist world. It might just be that our future and the improvements we might look forward to seeing are entirely dependent upon how well we remember our past, how well we remember the pains we suffered, and how well we realize that, in 1973, our crop is not half full, rather it is still half empty.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY: EMERGENT OR EXTANT

By ROMMEL BENJAMIN

In recent years various people such as politicians, social workers, and educators have frequently referred to the Black population in a particular locality as a Black community. This paper is concerned with whether the population referred to as a "community" is in fact a community.

The concept community implies something both psychological and geographical. Psychologically, it implies shared interests and value orientations. Geographically, it denotes a specific area where people are clustered. Sociologically, the term combines these two connotations. The community concept, in addition to the factors of space and population, includes the idea of shared institutional patterns and value configurations.

The position taken here is that the Black population segment of American society at any level, e.g., local, state or national is latent, not dynamic or actualized. The variables that constitute a community are to a large degree present among Blacks, but they are not meshed in to an interdependent functioning system of problem-solving patterns of social interaction. What seems to be missing is the sense of a common bond and a pervasive desire to cooperate in a unified effort, to solve problems of living. Put simply there seems not to be a strong "sense" of community among Black Americans at the various levels of our society. This is not to say that no sense of community whatsoever is present. However, the key problems of Black Americans have not been subjected to a sustained "community wide" attack. Such problems are economic, legal, educational and socio-political.

Black Americans have not been able to deal with these major problem areas as effectively as some other racial and ethnic groups in our society. There are many factors that contribute to this failure. Without belaboring the point, we can say that the dual system of education did much to prevent a broad economic base from developing among Blacks. This correlation between education and income seems to be indisputably high. The legal power that supports the societal norms including differential meting out of justice did much to restrain Blacks from activities that would have led to a strong sense of community as well as a significant degree of socio-political power.

The relevance of education is its capacity to help people learn how to influence their own futures instead of resigning themselves to supposed inevitabilities. However, the Black student historically and, in a lesser degree, currently finds himself caught on the horns of a dilemma. He is educated for "typical" role playing in a society that does not evaluate him as being a "typical" citizen. This of course results in dissonance and the selection of options that may be deviant in some cases.

Education for Living

Education is capable of significant contributions to the development of what we refer to as "normal" human beings. W.E.B. DuBois pointed this out many years ago when he noted the social-psychological effects of limited or poor educational opportunities. Such limitations stifle creativity and negate potentials. DuBois also pointed out the dilemma of Black educators. They had to teach men and women to live or to work. At the time DuBois wrote it was considered impractical to teach Black men to live, that is to enjoy the beauty of nature, art, etc. The emphasis was upon materials and instrumental rewards. Nevertheless, he argued that the function of education was to teach men to live and to develop manhood and self acceptance.

More recently, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman did an analysis of what they saw as the role of the historical Black College and its problems. Among the most crucial problems, according to Jencks and Riesman, are low faculty creativity, i.e., little publishing and research, infrequent attendance at professional meetings, low student moral, student boredom and low student academic aptitude.

The writers had much more to say, but these criticisms seemed to be directed toward the functional dimensions of the historical Black colleges, most of which are in the South. It is easy to understand why Black professors do little research and publishing once they are involved in the cycle of teaching and struggling to escape mediocrity. Funding agencies are skeptical about research proposals from Black professors in historically Black schools. Such agencies prefer to fund "uplift" type programs, e.g., remediative type activities. They have little interest in the Black perspective on the "problems of living faced by Blacks." I do not to make any apology for the paucity of Black initiated research into Black problems. I merely want to emphasize the point that there are few funds available to Black researchers. This is a contemporary problem.

To illustrate another problem, we need only to consider several cases that are indicative of the general social climate in which Black education must occur. Morgan State in Baltimore could have been upgraded into a major University or at least a top flight senior college serving both Blacks and whites. The potential clientele was there. However, the Maryland Legislature declined this option and instead developed a branch campus of the University of Maryland. A similar situation developed in Texas when whites expressed a desire for a public community college. The Texas Legislature met this need by negotiating a take over of the University of Houston. Texas Southern could have been developed into a larger well funded and better staffed University to fill the need.

The major point here is that the social-psychological residues of the old dual educational system still linger and affect decisions being made at high levels of local state and national government.

The task of education is staggering. It must attempt to undo the consequences of years and generations of life in a "climate of failure" and even self-hatred and negative social evaluation. Nowhere is this more difficult than in the rural South among rural Blacks. Their very physical survival once depended upon their quiet and even cheerful acquiescence to the political power that was, and still is, mostly white power.

The development of a strong sense of community among rural Blacks is no small task. The exciting and adventurous "movements" of the sixties are gone. Gone also are those leaders whose charisma and eloquent appeals could lift up the spirits of even those rural Blacks who eked out a day to day survival by means of hard physical labor. Today, we must struggle to create a consciousness, a common psychological bond, a rational-logical perspective relative to our need for community, i.e., a problem solving network of interaction that deals with our paramount needs.

Education for Community

The strength of traditions and customs characteristic of the intensely segregated society of the "old South" has waned. However, the psychological effects of that system have not been as quickly eliminated. Black Americans have had to struggle to accept themselves. This is a most important aspect of the rural Black American's quest for freedom. He must be taught to respect himself and others. Only when he is secure in his own self-acceptance can he proceed to come to grips with other problems of living in an effective manner.

Black Americans in the rural South are very much like those citizens of emerging nations called "underdeveloped". They tend to see education as an assurance of social integration. They depend upon grammar and secondary schools for a general education. However, traditional grammar and secondary schools have "continuation in college" as their general objective. We have not gotten past the myth that free schooling ensures all citizens equality in the economy and effective participation in the society. This is not necessarily so. Many persons who do not meet the "typical" or "normal" standards of schools which they attend can make invaluable contributions to their localities (or if you wish, communities).

Early socio-political thinkers such as Aristotle saw the community as being prior to the individual and as giving each individual "self" some essential qualities. The school is seen as a continuation of this inculcation of values, norms and expectations. The rural Black youth finds himself subjected to what are "alien" role expectations, dissonance-producing value systems and appreciative standards when he attends school. This is more the case when the school is integrated

The Black college is one area of educational activity that can offer the Black youngster a supportive social context as well as a sympathetic interpretation of his role to be played in the larger society. It can also strengthen and in some cases awaken his sense of a common bond between himself and his fellow group members. He can weigh the options, assess the needs, and analyze the problems in his social situation. Some scholars and social thinkers argue that educational policy should be predicated upon a rational assessment of the needs of the individual within the community.

Obviously, this is difficult in a multi-racial society where social interaction between races is limited to certain dimensions. Nevertheless, historical Black colleges can, to some degree, provide education toward a dynamic community. Rural Black youths have a basic orientation toward primary-type socio-cultural relationships, a consequence of the residues of an agrarian folk-type society.

However, the Black college must first deal with the effects of "typical" training or orientation that occurred in grammar and secondary schools. Such training carries with it the "Horatio Alger Myths" and the idea that education results in equality.

Obviously, the job of the Black educator is to assist the young Black in his adjustment to a relatively hostile society. He must be taught the value of group effort in the constant struggle to survive and at the same time to become a community. The educated Black must work at overcoming the animosity that exists between himself and his less well educated fellows. The Black college can play a strategic role in this effort by extending its services into the dormant Black community. Rural Black youths must be shown their potential in determining social policy and in playing a role in the making of decisions that have profound and pervasive effects on their lives. This is a task that education can perform, for basically a community would involve training for group life.

Needs of Rural Black Youth in the South

In an area where many youths end their formal education at the elementary of secondary school, it seems necessary that they be provided with a broad perspective on life as well as instrumental training. To illustrate, one might have a skill acquired from home life, e.g., auto mechanics, bricklaying, truck driving or cooking. It seems logical that the school (elementary or secondary) could develop this base while providing rudiments of liberal studies.

Many schools are not organized to deal with basic personal hygience. There is a need for such emphasis. Although simple, this need is a sensitive area of life in groups. Many college students are criticized by their classmates for body odors, dirty fingernails, or bad breath. The students expect the teacher to handle such problems. However, college students take offense at their professors mentioning such things. They feel that they are being subjected to class discrimination.

Educators also feel that everyone knows about personal health care and hygiene because of mass media. This is not true. Many rural people do not have exotic deodorants, ample bathroom space, and adequate clothing. To put this problem simply, poverty and lack of knowledge about group life and appreciative social norms is still with us.

Despite the gains made by Blacks in all areas of American life they are still in a relatively deprived socio-economic condition. One contributing factor is the lack of economic security. Young Blacks must be taught to value cooperative efforts in establishing financial security. Many Black youth disdain the service occupations because of the "dirty hands" and "overall" stigma. Nevertheless, such occupations are among the best paid ones of contemporary life.

Black southerners have failed to unite for political power just as they have failed to cooperate for economic power. This means that they must be oriented to the loci of power at the local levels of government as well as the state and federal levels. They must be taught carefully and early in their educational process. Of course role modeling is necessary. Black professors, medical doctors, lawyers, artisans, farmers, and businessmen must be "visible" to Black youth in order for them to formulate their role in a constructive manner.

To accomplish this task of providing sugnificant role models, the concept "community" must become dynamic. The enclaves, cliques, and associations

that contend with each other for social space and prestige must unite select specific and general leaders, and struggle against other ethnic and racial groups for social space, prestige and power. Only when community appears in dynamic form can Black southerners bargain politically; only when they have a reservoir of marketable skills can they obtain cooperation; and only when they have a solid economic base can they obtain concessions of political and social significance.

The needs of rural Black are multitudinous. However, we can confine these needs to several key areas:

1. Early education for life and for work. This involves
   (a) Vocational-technical education
   (b) Development of native skills
   (c) Basic health and social skills
2. Emphasis upon political and social participation
   (a) Modified curriculum stressing local needs
   (b) Orientation to power positions and responsibilities
3. Exposure to significant role models, i.e., Black professionals and tradesmen. This involves:
   (a) College extension services
   (b) The involvement of non-teaching persons in the educational process e.g., doctors, lawyers
4. Adult education based on expressed needs.

Many schools outside the South have attempted to analyze Black rural southerners and assess their needs. Such schools have been highly successful in acquiring research funds. They have not been successful in solving observed problems. The Black schools and colleges in the South have not been successful in getting a significant amount of funds for such research. However, I feel that research at Black colleges would be more meaningful. Moreover, the involvement of Black schools would give impetus to developing a sense of community. At the same time, action programs could be designed on the basis of both insight from personal experience and formal training.

To summarize, the issues involved in developing a sense of community among rural Black southerners are:

1. Lack of Black incumbency in positions of power
2. Factionalism of Blacks relative to local leadership
3. Lack of education based on need
4. Difficulties encountered by Black scholars in securing funds for research and research action programs
5. Antagonism between Black laymen and academicians
6. Lack of cooperative economic endeavors by Blacks
7. Shortage of Black professionals and tradesmen.

ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY: INTERVENTION INTO THE POVERTY CYCLE

By CLARA L. JOHNSON, Ph.D.

First, I want to say that we held a conference like this in Georgia in 1971. We met, we talked, we discussed, we searched out problems and priorities. We had the funding agencies represented. We wrote proposals. Our proposals were turned down. So here we are again. At this conference.

I am thinking now in terms of what has been going on here. From the information we have received at this conference thus far, we can safely conclude that there are many variables which contribute to the poverty of rural southern Blacks. And there are just as many ways to attack this problem, depending upon one's personal perspective. Poverty among rural southern Blacks has many causes and solutions. And in order to alleviate the situation, there is the need to understand the many facets of the problem that contribute to the whole.

Having made the preceding observations, I would like now to devote my attention to the topic of this discussion: adolescent pregnancy in relation to poverty, especially among rural Blacks. I see this problem as one crucial aspect of the total situation facing rural Black residents.

Social conern with adolescent pregnancies and births continues to be directed mainly toward moral and economic issues related to illegitimacy. Attention is especially focused on births among nonwhite girls. However, such a perception of adolescent pregnancies and births prevents the acquisition of insight necessary for placing the problems in its proper perspective.

Social concerns with adolescent child births, especially as these concerns are inspired by population and poverty related issues, should include the wed as well as the unwed, the white as well as the nonwhite teenagers. An often overlooked fact is the high percentage of births contributed by teenagers to the total population problem. Both nationally and in Georgia, approximately one out of every four births is to a teenage mother, with a disproportionate percentage legitimately born to teenage mothers. In the State of Georgia in 1969, there was a recorded total of 10,181 illegitimate births; fifty-two percent or 5337 were births to teenage mothers. In the same year, there was a total of 20,825 births to teenage mothers. This figure includes wed and non-wed mothers. For 1970, the trend was virtually unchanged.

For the total state 4.5 percent of all white girls age 15-17 gave birth to a child in 1969 as compared to 10.2 percent of all Black girls age 15-17. Among white girls, 1.4 percent of those age 15 gave birth, 4.2 percent of the 16 year olds; and 8.2 percent of the 17 year olds. Among Blacks, the percentage were 5.7, 10.9, and 14.2 for ages 15, 16, 17 respectively. There were 115 births to white girls, age 11-14 and

424 births to Black girls of this age. There were 3,513 live births to white girls of age 18, and 3,542 to Black girls of age 18. These data reveal a point which is not readily apparent—legitimate births to Georgia's teenagers account for approximately three-fourths of all teenage births. In relation to population concerns, then, the incidence of adolescent births, legitimate as well as illegitimate, is a factor which must be reckoned with.

Similarly, where poverty is the focus of concern, the incidence of adolescent births must be considered also. The high incidence of illegitimacy among low socio-economic groups, especially nonwhites, has been well documented. A special study of mothers of legitimate births (from a national sample of all births for 1964-66) indicated a concentration of married teenager mothers at a low socio-economic level. Women who were 15-19 years old accounted for 33.3 percent of all births, but 69.1 percent of those had not completed high school at the time of the births. This age category also accounted for 62.4 percent of the women from families with incomes under $3,000. These combined data suggest that approximately two-thirds of these married teenage mothers came from a low socio-economic background.

In addition to the fact that teenage mothers are generally located at a low-income level, the odds are staked against their moving upward on the economic scale. It has been demonstrated that level of education is directly related to conditions of poverty. Similarly, it is common knowledge that young mothers are often denied the privilege of returning to school. But even if policies allow these girls to continue and-or resume their educational program, there remain many obstacles to their active pursuit of continued education. Early childbearing undoubtedly decreases the amount of time, money, and physical and psychic energy the teenager, especially those from low-income background, might normally be able to invest in educational endeavors. Thus, for both wed and unwed teenagers who have a pregnancy and subsequent birth at a too young age, the likelihood of poverty conditions is high. Incomplete education, low-income level, psychological and developmental problems, excessive fertility, and probably social dependency are problems common to both populations of girls.

Studies of the relationship between fertility and poverty have focused primarily on the actual versus the desired or expected number of births. Although such studies have invalidated the common assumption that the poor want large families, they have thrown little light on the influence of poverty on family formation, i.e., early marriage and-or adolescent pregnancy. Yet in terms of the relationship between fertility and poverty, the timing of the first birth and the spacing of subsequent births may be of greater strategic importance than the ultimate size of the family.

In addition, there is a relationship between early childbearing, poverty, and excess fertility. There is evidence to indicate that early childbearing is positively related to the incidence of poverty. The evidence indicates that delaying the first birth may be more important than preventing the 6th, 7th, or 8th.

Not only do pregnancy and subsequent child birth at a young age contribute to poverty conditions, but the young girls and their infants are high medical risk. Teenage pregnancy has been reported to be associated with a high incidence of taxemonia, anemia, contracted pelvis, prolonged labor, premature births, and

other complications of pregnancy and delivery. Such complications are especially evidenced in girls from low-income families who, as a rule, do not receive early and regular prenatal care.

These points have special relevance to the problems, which center around infant growth and development. Existing evidence strongly suggests that growth and developmental processes are thwarted in infants who are malnourished prior to and immediately following births. And while the evidence is not yet conclusive, there is some indication that the impairments to infants may be irreversible. If this is indeed the case, it seems logical to assume that restricted brain and physical development in infancy will grossly limit the competitive powers of the eventual adult.

A selected review of the literature on premarital pregnancy reveals two major theoretical frameworks for the unmarried mother phenomenon—psychological explanations for white girls and sociological ones for nonwhite girls. Illegitimacy has been viewed by many psychiatrists and social workers as a manifestation of underlying emotional problems, i.e., as pathological behavior.

Although psychological explanations have undoubtedly helped answer many questions of an individual nature, one must look with suspicion at the merit of much of what has been written. These explanations have been based primarily upon specific patients or social work clients; virtually nothing has been accomplished through sampling procedures which would warrant inferential statements. Further, the populations or samples on which clinical observations and empirical research have been concentreated have generally been pregnant women. There can be no doubt that such observations and or research yield explanations which are contaminated by reactions to pregnancy. This confounding would naturally make it difficult to determine what is, in fact, attributable to genuine unresolved conflicts.

As a corollary of the preceding limitations, psychological explanations have contributed little toward answering such questions as: Are girls pregnant because they are different or are they different because they are pregnant? Do girls become pregnant because they want to or are their pregnancies a result of some unknown variable(s)? Although little high caliber systematic research has been done which can supply such answers, the evidence emanating from such research tends to refute the proposition that girls are pregnant because they are different and or because they want to become pregnant. The studies which have indicated emotional and psychological problems of the pregnant or unwed mother have not been designed so that factors related to the condition of pregnancy itself can be considered.

The impetus for sociological explanations of the problem of adolescent pregnancy is found in the historical perspective of slavery and the matriarchal family. The present cultural milieu which is presumed to have grown out of the slave tradition is seen as one which tolerates promiscuity and readily accepts illegitimacy. In other words, the values and attitudes of Blacks are presumed to be vastly different from those held by "white" society at large. The U.S. Census data on Black-white illegitimacy rates tend to bear out the presumption. On the other hand, many other studies suggest that, by and large, Negroes do value legitimacy. The discrepancy between attitudes (valuations of legitimacy) and

ultimate observable conditions (high illegitimacy rates) leads one to assume that factors other than cultural prequisites and or indifference may be operative.

This cursory review of the literature relative to theoretical perspectives on out-of-wedlock pregnancies tends to reveal that we have not sufficiently identified the factors related to adolescent pregnancy, nor have we sufficiently differentiated motivations for sexual intercourse which lead to pregnancy among adolescents.

A further weakness noted in the literature is the persistency with which the attitudes and practices of the male sex partner have been overlooked. Thirdly, it seems that theoretical explanations—psychological or sociological—can be satisfactorily modified or extended to explain adolescent pregnancy in general and to determine the major factors which lead to such pregnancies.

The cards are stacked against the young teenage girl, who, as a child, faces the ordeal of pregnancy and childbirth and the responsibilities of parenthood. We have tried to show that the effects of early pregnancies extend to the infants and to society in general. It would seem that one solution to many of these effects would be to prevent live births to the young teenagers. There are distinct stages at which prevention can be conceptualized: (1) preventing intercourse, (2) preventing conception, and (3) terminating the pregnancy. These alternatives are discussed in the following sections.

Preventing Intercourse

Although there is a dearth of data concerning the number of girls who engage in sexual intercourse, it appears reasonable to assume that this number surpasses the number that becomes pregnant. In order to affect the incidence of premarital sexual intercourse, it will be necessary to study the problem in greater scope. There are few studies which attempt to determine why teenage unmarried girls engage in sexual behavior. Most studies have fused the issue of sexual behavior with that of pregnancy—motivation for one has been assumed to be motivation for the other.

Sexual behavior, as all other forms of social behavior, is a result of multiple factors. Among such factors which have not been adequately studied in relation to adolescent pregnancy are: (1) normative, e.g., attitudes of young teenagers toward sexual intercourse, the extent to which intrapersonal attitudes and norms conflict; (2) personality, e.g., how much knowledge teenagers have about their psychological makeup, the extent of knowledge and the degree of distortion in this knowledge on sex and contraception; (3) situation e.g., community structure-prevailing attitudes toward sex, opportunity structure—access to cars and motels, amount of adult supervision, and community geography; and (4) interactional, e.g., attitudes of young males toward sex, womanhood, marriage, parent-child relations, communication patterms, and peer group influence.

The above is at best an incomplete and fragmented effort to outline some possible areas for study and to guide future thinking on sexual behavior among young teenage girls.

With attitudes toward sex becoming increasingly permissive and open and sexual stimuli being increasingly diffused, it seems that the question may strategically become one of why girls do not engage in premarital sex than that of why they do.

Preventing Conception

If we accept the fact that young teenagers, the unwed as well as the wed, engage in sexual intercourse, we need to focus on the prevention of conception. This is indeed a problem when we consider society's negative attitudes toward primary prevention.

Attacking the preventive problem from within the psychological and sociological frameworks to which we alluded earlier would almost be an insurmountable task, especially on a mass basis. The preponderance of psychological explanations clearly relate out-of-wedlock pregnancy to unresolved personality conflicts of motivation to become pregnant. To appreciably affect the incidence of adolescent pregnancy from this orientation would require individual psychoanalytic or some similar therapeutic treatment. Such an approach would be unfeasible and costly. On the other hand, if culture serves as the motivating factor, a mass program is needed to change the value systems of a whole segment of society. While observed teenage pregnancies and births are more prevalent among low-income groups, a sizable number is found across income levels. Who, then, can be identified as the target for value change?

The merit of much of what has been written on the etiology of adolescent pregnancy is open to serious questions, especially if generalizations beyond specific clients or social agency cases are required. There can be no doubt that explanations based on pregnant subjects have been contaminated by the pregnancy itself. Yet, few studies have been designed to determine the attitudes, knowledge, and sexual behavior of the single, never-pregnant teenage girl. The failure to study relevant issues before pregnancy occurs makes it difficult, if not impossible, to assess the differential effects of attitudes, knowledge, and availability of contraceptions on the incidence of first pregnancies among teenage girls.

While evidence suggests the need for separate programs designed to reach the potential adolescent obstetric population, there is little systematic theoretical base from which to draw for designing such programs. A major issue certainly involves whether or not adequate knowledge and accessibility or contraception will appreciably decrease pregnancies among adolescent girls. Let us explore this possibility. Assume first that the decision to prevent pregnancy is based on **motivation not to get pregnant**. Assume further, that this motivation is high among girls. Can we then conclude that a marked decrease in adolescent pregnancies will follow accessibility to contraceptive facilities. To make this assumption negates the importance of boy-girl and mother-daughter relationships. While it is not feasible within the context of this paper to explore the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, we must suggest that the decision not to get pregnant is not the result of isolated intrapersonal motivation. The dynamics of the adolescent's total interactional process must be studied for clues to effective intervention.

Preventing Live Births

Without hard data to support the assumption, we can only hypothesize that the majority of unmarried pregnant teenagers and many married girls would like to terminate their pegnancy. Until recently, however, abortion as an alternative

to carrying an unwanted pregnancy to term was a luxury only the move privileged could afford. But with pressures mounting first to legalize abortions and secondly, to make them more available to indigent women, it is conceivable that abortion will eventually become an acceptable and less costly method of terminating unwanted pregnancies and stimultaneously, serve as a birth control device. Presently, cost alone precludes abortion as an alternative open to girls and women from low income families in nearly all communities.

There can be no doubt that there are grave risks involved in criminal and self-induced abortion– risks of death and morbidity. It is generally presumed that legalized abortions will have at least two possible effects: (1) it will control against criminal abortions and as a corollary, (2) it will decrease the health risk factor to the patient. Very few researchers would consider abortion a simple operation or an insignificant event in a woman's life. Of particular concern are the psychological effects of abortion on the very young teenager. Reports of the effects of abortion on the teenager are few in number, and those that exist are based on very few and highly selected cases so that little can be said on the subject.

In view of limited knowledge concerning the effects of abortion on the very young teenager, it would be presumptuous to openly advocate abortion as an alternative to live births. One must wonder, however, if such effects could possibly be more detrimental to the total life situation than the physical effects of carrying the pregnancy to term and the subsequent social, psychological, educational, and economic problems.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

This segment of the report is a summary of the verbal give and take which may well be considered the nucleus of the conference. It was in these discussion sessions that conference participants engaged each other in an earnest exchange of views. It was never intended that they would reach full and complete census. Vested interest quickly came to the fore, but the exchange of views forced justification from participants and caused biases to be exposed to challenge. Out of it all came obvious progress.

A. Abstractors

In the following pages the summary statements of conference abstractors are still further condensed in the interest of time and costs. Abstractors were assigned the difficult task of summarizing the formal presentations and discussions which followed. In each ase, the abstractor observed parts of the discussion sessions first hand, then met for post-session briefings with discussion leaders and recorders so that the essence of the discussions might be combined for a summary presentation.

Module I Abstract—Dr. Herrington Bryce

I shall use this opportunity to summarize some of the interesting discussions which I heard and to raise some additional questions for your consideration. I shall also use this opportunity to give some of my own views on several of the issues raised. I do not intend to be doctrinaire in so doing, but I hope to provide some direction in order that future discussions will be within the prospective designed by those who sponsored this conference.

Thus far, one of the most frequently raised issues is whether the conditions of rural Blacks are significantly different from conditions of all Blacks in this country. I believe that the fundamental problem of Blacks throughout this country is the problem of discrimination. However, this does not mean that the solutions to problems of Blacks in urban areas and the problems of Blacks in rural areas are necessarily the same.

If we take a problem such as housing, we find very striking differences in the social realities of Blacks in a rural community such as West Point, Mississippi as compared to Blacks in an urban community such as New York City. Needs are different with respect to new construction, water systems, sewer systems and sources of funds to finance housing. On the one hand the problem is how to generate new construction. On the other hand, the problem is how to make ongoing construction more effective. A community must be sufficiently large to receive certain kinds of resources through the federal government. Urban communities satisfy this size criterion whereas many rural communities do not.

Another point raised is that many whites suffer from the same kinds of problems as Blacks. Yet, we have said that the fundamental problems for Blacks is discrimination. These ideas seem to be conflicting. However, there is a basic reality about both views. The system does not work to the advantage of poor people. A great number of individuals, both Black and white, are not included among those who benefit from the system. It is correct to say that whites suffer from many of the same problems as Blacks. At the same time, we see that the select group that benefits from the system is almost totally white. In this sense, it is still correct to say that the fundamental problem of Blacks is discrimination. I might remind you that it is a reality that most whites have an easier way out of their problems than Blacks. To fail to understand and deal with that reality will obstruct the kinds of social and political policies which might solve the problems of Blacks.

Blacks are encouraged to get an education. But education continues to be an ineffective vehicle for Black mobility. This is not an argument against education. But when you take a Black and a white with the same level of education, you find striking differences in their life circumstances. Even if you have provided them with similar educational experiences, you will end up with individuals who are still unequal. In fact, it would appear in this case that educational systems render Blacks ineffective.

Several years ago, the Black community faced a very profound question. The question was: do we train Blacks for vocational roles or for academic positions? Those who stressed academic training were faced with the argument that those who attained educational success did so only because they were Black. Those of us who worked so hard to meet the academic requirements and who graduated among the leaders of our classes find that hard to believe. It is frustrating to be told to strive for certain qualifications and when they are achieved, to be told that the only reason you made it is because you are Black. The counter-argument should then be that the only reason others made it is because they are white.

With respect to the question of whether schools should stress vocational or academic courses, I argue that as long as we live in a credential-oriented society, Blacks have to get those credentials. But, there are also certain kinds of basic tools that all Blacks must have. I believe that one should be able to read, write, speak well, and think logically. The real question is how do we utilize these tools in alleviating the problems which face Blacks.

A further question is that of how the university can be involved in dealing with the problems of Blacks in rural areas. This is a very interesting question in light of the history of the land grant colleges. Most of us remember that history and the kind of research these colleges have done. We could say that one of the reasons Blacks are having a hard time in rural areas today is that these colleges have done their work so well. The progress that they have brought about in agriculture has left many Blacks without a job. Although their intentions may have been honorable, the end result for Blacks has been negative.

I do believe that the universities can and ought to have a role in resolving some of the current problems of rural Blacks. The university can start by being interested in the rural Black residents. The delivery of certain social services can be a major function of the university. In the past, the university's commitment

has been limited to a few faculty members who gathered data about people for whom they cared little. Much of the research was just plain silly. But much of it was very political in nature. The questions asked and the conclusions reached were directed toward political goals. If you think that university professors do not have a tremendous impact on social problems, take note of the men and women who testify before Congress when various bills are being debated. Make a list of those who have Ph.D's. Some say that the university serves as an agency for protecting the status quo. I believe that it has served and can continue to serve as an important agent of change.

A final problem with which the university might deal is that of encouraging young people to be concerned about the problems of rural Blacks. Many young people leave rural areas to go to the universities and never return. What does the univessity do to correct this situation? In a real sense, the educational system is contributing to the decline of rural areas. Steps must be taken to reverse that situation.

Module II Abstract—Dr. Victor Phillips

Mr. Coleman's reflection on the conditions of Blacks in rural Arkansas focused on three major areas: politics, economics, and education. In his presentation and the subsequent discussions, a number of pertinent questions were raised. These questions provided guidelines for useful future research. Let me outline, for each of the three major areas discussed by Mr. Coleman, the questions which have been raised.

Looking first at the politics of rural Blacks, we find a growing interest in community organization. A number of effective grassroots organizations have begun to spring up in rural communities throughout the South. The effectiveness of these organizations is evident in the growing number of Blacks elected and appointed to significant community leadership positions. There has been preogress in the recent past. Blacks have moved ahead. But we have not as yet carefully measured the extent of this progress nor the means by which it has been achieved. There is a pressing need for research on Black rural community organization—particularly as it relates to effective political action. The following are representative of the kinds of questions which must be asked and answered by this research:

1. What are the perceptions of rural Blacks (and white) voters with respect to political powers?
2. What is the extent of political sophistication of rural Blacks, i.e., their awareness of basic rights and responsibilities?
3. What are the present and potential methods of utilizing current political arrangements to bring benefits to rural Blacks?
4. What are the present and potential sources of political leadership for rural Blacks?
5. What are the possibilities and advantages of coalitions between Blacks and various white sub-groups within the rural community?

6. What benefits have fallen to Black rural communities as a consequence of election and appointments of Blacks (and liberal whites) to community leadership positions?
7. What methods have proved effective in improving the level of rural Black voter sophistication and participation?
8. What are alternative strategies in the move toward political power for rural Blacks in communities where they represent a minority?

The critical questions are perhaps best summarized in a single inquiry, i.e., "How can rural Blacks make the system work to their advantage?" There is a sufficient history of political success, among Blacks and other minority groups, to support confidence in the political future of the rural Black population. What is needed is research and social engineering which learns from the past, adequately assesses the present, and carefully plans for the future.

Political and economic conditions of rural Blacks may be considered separately for academic purposes, but in fact they are very closely intertwined. Political gains bring with them economic benefits. Economic power is one of the primary avenues to political strength. The history of rural Blacks is virtually void of both economic and political power. Confidence in social technology leads us to believe that concentration of our interest and resources will bring about progress.

Certainly, there has been progress with respect to the economic conditions of rural Blacks. Whatever the index of the quality of life, that index shows improvement for rural Blacks over the past half century. At the same time, we find numerous areas in which the gap between rural and urban populations has increased. Economic conditions for rural Blacks frequently show gains in absolute terms but loss in a relative sense. The task at hand is to focus interest and resources on economic problems of rural Blacks with a view toward eliminating those problems.

Sound research is one of the crucial first-steps in dealing with these problems. Discussions here today have pointed up some of the significant gaps in our knowledge about economic conditions of rural Blacks. A commitment to eliminate these gaps is needed. Given that commitment, there are certain priorities for action. The following questions suggest some of these priorities:

1. What is the past, present, and potential impact of the Federal Revenue Sharing Program on rural Blacks?
2. What are the possibilities and potential methods of reducing the distance gap between rural (farm and non-farm) workers and employment opportunities?
3. What are the present and potential economic resources for rural communities, and how may these resources be increased?
4. To what extent are currently available resources (taxes and other revenues) for Black rural communities being utilized to the advantage of Black residents?
5. What has been the impact of community development cooperatives on the economic situation of rural Blacks?

6. To what extent are public jobs available to rural Blacks and how can this situation be improved?
7. What is the potential labor force contribution of rural Blacks?
8. Have affirmative action programs improved the conditions of life for rural Blacks?

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Questions such as these can hardly be answered for the total rural Black population. That population is far too diversified to expect a single answer to be applicable to the total. The questions must be asked and answered for specific communities. It becomes obvious then that the task at hand is not trivial. Moreover, these broad questions will most certainly lead to more specific inquiry as the research process proceeds. Only with firm initial and continuing commitment can we expect to achieve significant progress in terms of research or action for the improvement of economic conditions for rural Blacks.

Formal education has long been viewed as the primary means of social mobility for dominant and minority groups in this society. The prevailing notion is one of strong positive correlation between economic progress and educational achievement. At times, the position becomes one of making a lack of education the scapegoat for minority problems. That can be set forth as a perfectly logical conclusion with respect to rural Blacks, given the fact that both median education and economic status are extremely low for this group. Needless to say, there are outside forces operating to depress both the education and economic status of rural Blacks. Research and action is needed to understand and deal with these outside forces. From the discussions groups we have several pointed inquiries with respect to needed research on rural Black education. Among these are the following:

1. To what extent are rural Blacks taking advantages of educational opportunities currently available?
2. What educational programs and supporting resources are currently available to rural Blacks?
3. What is the relationship between current educational programs and the labor forces participation of rural Blacks? (Does training correlate with opportunities?)
4. What types of social educational programs (for adult, vocational, paraprofessional) are available to rural Blacks?
5. What aspects of the educational program encourage or discourage commitment to the rural Black community?

This list of research objectives is not to be considered exhaustive. There are others within these larger categories. There are other categories. We have taken for granted the need for basic information concerning the demographic characteristics and trends in the rural context. That information is essential to programs, whatever their focus. We must be reminded, however, that as simply as the demographic data collection process seems, it too requires both theoretical and methodological sophistication. Past research has, at times, confounded income with purchasing power, formal education with marketable skills, or family composition with household composition. Such errors minimize the utility of basic demographic data. Research, to be functional for the rural Black population, must yield valid and reliable results. These results must be translated into effective programs for social and economic change.

Module IV Abstract—Dr. Mary Harper

Subsequent to my presentation of the Summary Findings, I hope time will be available for me to share a few of my beliefs of what we should be doing about post 1980—what were some of the outcomes in terms of needs for the rural South—what kind of leadership followership resulted from the 1960s—and where are we now—how long we will be "there", and what are some of the necessary contingencies for keeping us "there" and getting more blacks "there"?

I would like to commend Dr. Johnson for the presentation of a very excellent and insightful paper on information that is very much needed in the Black community.

Dr. Johnson began her presentation by alerting us to the need to become skilled and competent in preparation of grant proposals, grant writing, and grantsmanship. I plan to come back and visit with that topic later. At this point, let me stick to my notes from small group discussions. I think that one thing we need to know and put into the educational system is how to socialize and publicize knowledge which we get from our institutions of learning. I think sometimes that was one of the problems and or deficiencies of my own education. I am a Southern educated girl who only had access to a subject matter oriented education which concentrated on rote memory reading, writing, and how to cook, sew, and wash.

I do not believe in second class education nor second class, poor quality research. As a member of the staff in the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs, I normally insist that we not accept any research that is not good scientific research and not well designed. We prefer to go out and help person(s), institutions or agencies design their research, rather than accept inferior research. But getting research through the system sometimes has little to do with the way it is designed.

Now let me address myself to the topic of adolescent pregnancy and the cycle of poverty. Dr. Johnson outlined the problems inherent in both teenage marriages as well as unwedded teen age relationships. It was of interest to note that the people who are getting divorces after twenty to thirty years of marriage were married during their teenage years. So it is important that we assist young adolescent parents in making an adjustment because it is apparent that they can live together and rear a family, and yet never really develop "cemented marital

relations". But, let's not look at the age factor alone. Let's look at the quality of living and make our prediction of the kind of destiny which those may expect who have been reared in a family that has experienced a psychological divorce. We get more mental illness, crime, and delinquency from that kind of home than we get from a home where there is a physical separation. Now I'm not advocating divorces, but I think we need to look at the "facts of life."

One more mental excursion before I get into the report. A study was made of the funding patterns of federal agencies and several private foundations for training and research pertaining to minority groups. It showed a high rejection rate of research by minority investigators and that 75 percent of the research on minority groups was done by non-minority investigators. I mentioned in a session yesterday the number of our Black leaders who come from single parent families. I think it is of major significance that we look at the great minority leaders in this country, and see what happened in their child rearing processes. Then I think we need to look at the processes, socialization patterns and dynamics that go on in teen-age families and acknowledge the leadership which has come from these families. We really need to know what produced these leaders and to stop our generally skewed vision of looking at the moral side only. Let's look at the strength of these families. Let's learn something from them. I do not advocate unwed pregnancies nor single parent families, but there have been positive processes and patterns of behavior which produced leaders from single parent families. Therefore, we should study and identify these processes and utilize this knowledge in the planning of programs for future single parent families.

Let's turn to the group discussions. Group I concluded that we need to educate the Black male as well as the Black female with respect to unplanned pregnancies. This group would like to know the age level of the men that are responsible for teen age pregnancy. Now there are two studies that I know of that have indicated most were not teenage men. One study in Georgia and another in Alabama indicated that a high percentage of adolescent pregnancies were caused by fathers of the teen-age girls, frequently common-law fathers. In a discussion with local residents, we learned that such experiences are still with us. It is very important that we keep in mind that the rural Black girl reports that she wants to prevent pregnancy out of wedlock. She does not want to have children prior to marriage. Yet, Dr. Johnson has reported in her studies that the Black adolescent is having twice as many pregnancies as the white adolescent up to age 17. We have research which shows that people do not necessarily desire nor put forth an effort to obtain what is healthy for them. The University of Chicago has an eight year study of circumstances under which people sought health care when there was free access to treatment modalities in cancer prevention, access to polio vaccine, access to free x-rays, and physical examinations by a board of 35 physicians. They were even provided transportation. By and large persons did not take advantage of free diagnostic and treatment services. We have to recognize and come to grips with the fact that everyone does not want to be healthy. How do you make a person healthy when the person has no desire to be healthy? These are the challenges which we should be facing in the classroom.

How do we assist persons in giving priority to health, priority to education, priority to wanting to be someone? Wanting to be someone is very, very difficult you know. It means encountering racism. It means being knocked down

thousands of times and crawling or jumping up. It is very difficult.

Now let me continue the report from the small groups. Group II concluded that rural Black males are not responsible for the pregnancy of rural adolescent females. Urban Black males are the villians. Among the questions raised were: What kind of support do adolescent girls get from their parents and what are the sex values of their parents? Some parents are not comfortable providing sex education for their children.

Group III concurred that the Black girl does not have the training and resources in her home or school to help her through her pregnancy nor to help her prevent pregnancy. In connection with this, I think there are some realities that we have to deal with in the rural South. One such reality is that before we say the adolescent female should postpone premarital sexual relations and having babies, we need to take note of the absence of social and recreational options which could provide her with alternative interests. In other words, we need to establish mechanisms that provide her with opportunities for the improvement of the quality of her life.

Additionally, we need to study the sex and child rearing patterns of various socio economic status groups. There are state laws which prohibit the purchase of contraceptives by young girls below a given age. Group III felt that all teenagers should have access to contraceptives and that there should be a reexamination of the legislation which prevents the sale of contraceptives to teenagers.

Sex education should be for both the male and female. We find that Black adolescents from the upper and middle class professional families have a higher rate of abortions; these parents can afford to finance abortions. The Black adolescent female from the lower socio-economic class have a low abortion rate. (These figures will vary with the source of the study or report, i.e., from Family Planning or the vital statistics.) During my teenage years in Alabama and Georgia, rural girls who were my school peers could name at least eight sources where one could get abortions without signing a register. The prices varied from $15 to $50, which was less than the $500.00 charged by the physician at that time. This suggests that our research must be thorough and realistic, when it attempts to show cause-effect statistical information.

An overriding contention for Group IV was that the mentality of rural Blacks must be examined. I thought the group's reference to "mentality" meant apathy or lack of knowledge. However, the group explained that what they really meant was the fastest methods for getting information and or establishing a network of information for dissemination among rural Black. Many of the social programs have failed rural Blacks because professionals used 80 percent of program funds in salary, while the services to the community account for the remaining 20 percent. Rural Blacks then need sufficient information and know-how (i.e., the mentality) to counteract these crippling tendencies in social program administration.

Group IV shared some of the same observations as Group III, i.e., that information on sex education should be channeled to the adolescent boys as well as the girls. One individual urged that family planning be included as a part of the high school and junior high school curriculum and as a part of PTA and church group discussions. In some instances, the teaching of sex education must have the

approval of the Board of Education and-or parents. The teachers must be trained to teach sex education. The church should share the role as sex educator. There should be more available state money for use in family planning for rural Black teenagers in junior high and high schools.

Another focus was that given limitations of the communications media for rural Blacks, it seems that an ombudsman is needed in the Black community. This should be a person who works for the government, who will represent the people, and who knows what local, county, state and federal resources are available, who should be contacted for these resources, how to complete necessary forms and how to get them through the bureaucracy to initiate the flow of available resources into the Black community, and how to follow-up matters that tend to be forgotten, ignored, or filibustered.

A final focus of this group was the need for our school system to relate its programs to life. Now this does not mean that the school should not continue its academic programs. It does mean that it should look at the facts of life as experienced by Blacks and begin to design programs for children who will not, cannot, and do not want to finish high schools or go to college, and who will be parents before they reach their 16th birthday.

DISCUSSION SUMMARIES

The primary objective of this Conference was to bring together individuals whose experience and training equipped them to aid in the articulation of research priorities with respect to the rural Black population. In this sense, the meaningfulness of the Conference was to be derived from the contributions made by this select group of participants. To facilitate discussions, the participants were assigned (randomly) to four groups, each of which met for approximately an hour after each of the four major presentations.

Discussions leaders were selected by the Conference staff during the early phases of planning. Leaders were encouraged to give prior thought to the issues at hand and to make substantive contributions to discussions. The intention was to obtain a representative sample of opinions. To this end, discussion leaders were also encouraged to make their role more that of "moderator" than "leader". Discussion recorders were also selected by the conference staff. Their recorded impressions of the discussions provide the basis for the following summaries.

One could hardly expect to bring together persons so vitally involved with issues of such a critical nature without having the discussions extend beyond "research priorities". There were frequent illustrations of the work being done by various groups. This sharing of experiences, problems, and solutions can hardly be considered an undesirable by-product of this conference. Many suggestions were made for direct action. Research goals were frequently subordinated to action programs in the discussions. In the following summary, we have organized discussion content by area and have included suggestions for both research and action.

1. General Observations. A pervasive element in the discussion sessions was the call for "action" in contrast to research. A constant refrain was: "We have done enough research, what we need now is action." Almost as persistent was the notion that whatever the research, it should be constructed with a view toward gathering functional information. The latter was, of course, consonant with the goals of the conference. A further concern of conference participants was that there be a more widespread dissemination of information concerning research on rural Blacks. Moreover, it was pointed out that research findings (and ongoing research efforts) should be made available, perhaps through some central sources, in the interest of less duplication and more efficient utilization and implementation of research effort.

As a broad framework for future research, it was suggested that there be greater emphasis on the "successes" and "strengths" of the rural Black population. Much of the research in the past has been what we may call deficit research, in that it generally summarized the problems and non-normative behavior of the rural Black population. A conscious counter effort is needed to provide a more balanced picture. Past research has also been negligent in its concern with communities and organizations. The great bulk of studies of rural

communities have studied individuals, singly or in aggregate. Little attention has been given to various organizations and agencies which function within the rural context. Both descriptive and evaluative research, using organizations as the unit of analysis, were called for in conference discussions.

2. **Research on Politics.** The single most frequently mentioned area for future research efforts was that of the political behavior of Blacks in rural communities. It is here that least research has been done to date. For this reason, and because politics is viewed as a primary vehicle for effecting change in the social and economic conditions of rural Blacks, there was a great deal of interest in research on the politics of rural Black populations.

Consistent with the general atmosphere of the conference, it was noted that there is a need for action programs which would increase the level of political sophistication and develop political leadership among rural Blacks. There was widespread consensus that the current objective ought to be that of encouraging Blacks to utilize the political system in their behalf as have other minority groups. This action orientation was combined with an interest in determining alternative methods for achieving agreed upon goals. The concern was for evaluative research which established norms for progress, evaluated the extent to which various organizations were aiding Blacks in achieving those norms, and evaluated (within organizations) methods being utilized. These were too numerous to be listed here. Instead we have summarized the major themes of the most frequent suggestions for needed research on the politics of rural Blacks.

1. Voter Participation Studies
2. Assessment of Political Sophistication
3. Evaluation of Voter Registration Campaigns
4. Effects of Political Gains on Economic Progress
5. Role of Blacks in Traditional & New Political Parties
6. Behavior of Black Elected & Appointed Officials
7. Blacks as Recipients of Political "Spoils"
8. Political Behavior of Blacks as Minority & Majority
9. Descriptive Studies on Political Successes Among Blacks
10. Black-White Coalitions

Much of the information sought from rural Blacks should also be gathered from other populations. However, the gross lack of studies on rural Black populations and the pressing need for a base of information to deal with their critical social, economic, and political problems are factors which should aid in establishing research priorities.

3. **Research on Education.** The Pinnock Paper on the relationship between academic and rural communities focused attention on methods by which the university can be of service to rural Blacks. Discussions which followed that presentation were latent with accusations leveled at academia for its past failures in this respect. From these discussions came suggestions concerning both content and method of future research.

There were conflicting opinions as to the obligation of colleges and universities to be "service" agencies. The land grant colleges were taken as example of the proper role of the university vis-a-vis the community. These institutions provided direct and aggressive services to the rural community in the past. Their

focus was primarily agricultural services, but it frequently extended beyond these. Similar activities in a wider range of community needs were called for as conference participants defined the proper role of the present day university.

Given that the local college is frequently the major "business" in many communities, it becomes a significant force in the political and economic life of the community. This impact is one which has not been carefully examined or articulated in the past. The student body of many Black colleges represents a potential labor force greater than that of the host community. That labor force can be utilized to the advantage of those communities. Colleges can provide the forum and personnel for adult education, community organization, manpower training, and other basic community needs. It is not inconceivable that, in those areas where other agencies are not available, colleges might be the channels through which federal programs are brought to local communities. These and other suggestions were offered as guidelines for the activities of a community-relevant academic institution.

More directly related to the primary function of the college or university were the suggestions that these institutions have a responsibility to investigage rural community needs, evaluate their curricula, and develop maximum correlation between the two. At the same time, there should be a conscious effort to develop a reciprocal flow of population between the college and the rural community. To date this population flow has been characterized by an undirectional movement.

Suggestions for future research were as much that the college and university study itself as that it study the rural Black population. Further, there was concern that future research be cooperative, utilizing local personnel, operating through local agencies, and addressing locally recognized problems. The smaller and predominately Black schools have traditionally been excluded in the distribution of research funds. Yet, they provide ideal sites for research on rural Blacks.

Research on educational problems and processes in rural Black communities were high on the list of priorities established by conference participants. The frequency of reference to such research needs was second only to reference to the need for research on rural Black politics. Among the broad areas of needed research are the following:

1. Assessment of Educational Needs (all ages)
2. Curriculum and Labor Market Needs (all levels)
3. Functions of Black Junior Community Colleges
4. Faculty as Community Leaders
5. Components of Academic Success
6. Social Interaction in Integrated Settings
7. Community Use of College Facilities
8. Career Patterns of Rural Youth
9. Black Officials and Rural Education

There was strong feeling that future research should be designed, conducted, and reported with the needs of the local community in view. The past record is one of communication of research results within the academic community, through channels and in a language which excluded local lay-consumers. Those who are convinced of the potential change-efficacy of higher education suggest that researchers begin to study themselves and the context in which they operate as a solid first step toward useful future research.

4. Additional Research Needs. While education and politics were set forth as the areas where research needs are most critical and immediate, these were not alone in the conference discussions. Basic demographic data were seen as essential to an understanding of the dynamics of the communities. These data must be collected and analyzed continually. Decimal census tabulations were mentioned as being inadequate in both frequency and content. It was decided that much is needed in terms of basic economic data. Medians of income, periodic reports on unemployment, and number of persons employed in a household are poor indicators of family economics. More comprehensive information should be available.

While it may not appear to be research at first glance, the efforts to determine what federal services and benefits are available (and being utilized) by rural Blacks is in fact sound research. Studies of the effects of new programs are important phases of useful community research. So also are manpower evaluation services and studies of the career patterns of community leaders. Comparative studies of "community psychology" and "regional mentality" are significant for community planning. An assessment of community resources, which includes organizations (such as churches) and natural resources as well as human resources, is a valuable research service for a community. All of these were included among the research priorities suggested in conference discussions.

Pervading these discussions of research priorities was the notion that research must be something of a compromise between what can and what should be done. Admittedly, there are constraints imposed upon many funding agencies, constraints of objectives as well as of resources. And research must be conducted within these constraints. At the same time, however, most research is conducted by academicians whose behavior is constrained by their disciplines and institutions. Although this constraint that can more readily be manipulated than can the former, within these limitations, there must be a concerned effort to conduct research which can be implemented and which provides basic information for functional action programs in the rural Black community. These objectives were virtually universally advocated by conference participants.

WITHIN-STATE PRIORITIES

In a final small group discussion session, conference participants were grouped by states and given the task of establishing research priorities for their respective states. There is the expected overlap between these reports and the information gained from sessions held earlier. Nonetheless, in the interest of emphasis and because several new issues were raised, these within-state research priorities are listed here.

1. **Alabama**
   a. Community Organization Studies
   b. Land and Labor Utilization Studies
   c. Nature and Responsiveness of Political Structures
   d. Psychology (Mentality) and Attitudes of Rural Blacks
   e. Distribution of Social Services
   f. Family Formation and Functioning

2. **Arkansas**
   a. Rural Political Participation and Processes
   b. Educational Resources, Programs, and Problems
   c. Function and Future of Black Colleges
   d. Affirmative Action and Compensatory Programs
   e. Mobility of Population and Industry
   f. Consequences of Desegregation
   g. Function of Religious Institutions
3. **Georgia**
   a. Consumer Behavior of Rural Blacks
   b. Intra and Intercommunity Economic Cooperation
   c. Blacks in the Legal-Judicial System
   d. Persistence of Socio-economic Discrimination
   e. Social and Economic Consequences of Political Processes
   f. Patterns of Rural-urban Migration
4. **Mississippi**
   a. Availability and Utilization of Federal Benefits
   b. Career Patterns and Programs of Black Officials
   c. Curriculum Evaluation (vis a vis Labor Market and Community Needs)
   d. Physical and Mental Health Assessment
   e. Black Colleges as Community Resources
   f. Studies of Implementation of Previous Research
   g. Demography and Economics of Small Towns and Rural Nonfarm Populations

These research priorities were also well permeated with suggestions for action with respect to related problems. There was frequent requests for practical, "how to do it" information. The issues were: "How do you obtain federal funds for housing? How do you develop effective community organization? How do you identify community leadership? How do you involve the university in community action? How do you improve the network of communication among rural communities?"

Given the foregoing questions, the obvious quest is for pragmatic solutions to real problems.

IMPLICATIONS AND UTILIZATIONS

To the extent that there flows from this conference information and action which, directly or indirectly improves the quality of life for rural Blacks, the experience can be positively evaluated. Concerning the conference itself, we need to know (1) what research it will stimulate, (2) what utilization there will be of this research, and (3) what unique social and economic benefits will accrue to rural Blacks as a result of that utilization. But in the meantime, to the extent that the conference provided consensual validity to the need for research on rural Blacks, it has justified its existence; to the extent that it provided guidelines and priorities for that research, it has proved worthwhile. The uncertainties can be removed with time.

Guidelines for future research have, in this report, been presented in broad summary terms. Although conference participants identified specific guidelines, these varied in specificity. Whatever the level of specificity, the urgency of need was a constant variable. The immediate task is to translate these guidelines into concrete research efforts. To do so will require both manpower and financial support. There are 380 counties in the four focus states of the conference. Virtually all of these counties have rural Black populations. If we take the county as the basis geographical unit for research purposes, the number of studies required to fulfill the mandate of the conference could become quite large. If meaningful communities are geographical units of less than county size (and they undoubtedly are), then the task becomes almost overwhelming.

The research directions suggested during the conference are most likely to be realized if there is collaboration and division of labor. Given the limited resources currently available, needless duplication of effort is unconscionable. The alternative is comprehensive planning and communication. An approach which utilizes appropriate sampling techniques (with communities being the basic unit of analysis) not only provides a judicious investment of resources but also yields important cross-community comparison. There is no reason to believe that each community is sufficiently unique as to merit separate study of similar problems. Communication of research results can be an effective means of conserving limited resources while resolving critical problems.

Even so, the currently available resources are inadequate for the task. Black rural research is not a popular issue. The current "action" is in urban studies. Some would justify this on the basis of the distribution of the Black population, ie. e, more than eighty percent urban. However, the present allocation of research, manpower, and funds does not approximate that population distribution. The glamor of urban studies has siphoned off far more than a proportionate share of the research resources. Only with a conscious counter-effort can that process be attenuated. Since fads and trends in social research are quite sensitive to the allocation of research resources, it is both possible and reasonable that part of the counter-effort involve a reallocation of research resources. The aim is that this conference and its published report will influence

the distribution of research resources. It is also intended that interest will be stimulated among social scientist to the extent that rural research proposals will be prepared and pursued.

The spirit of this conference would not be clearly conveyed if the call were simply for more rural research or even for rural research on specified issues. The pervading demand was that research be more dir ectly tied to the pragmatic problems of the rural Black population. The question being asked is "How do rural Blacks achieve the good things which this nation has afforded to other segments of society?" The quest is for methods of reaching universal goals.

The spirit should provide direction for future conferences. Certainly there is need for collaboration. That collaboration can well afford to be more specific and more action oriented. The larger research goals have been well delineated in these discussions. The need is for more detailed planning and execution of those plans. These tasks must be allocated to unknown others. If the conference participants are content to "let George do it", the result may be just another conference. There is here a springboard for planning, research, and action which can be a vital force in the future of the rural Blacks. This report is directed to those who share an interest in making that future one which is consistent with the American Dream.

APPENDIX I

INTRODUCTION

Following are some of the basic social, economic, and demographic characteristics—and recent changes in these characteristics—of the Black rural residents of four southern states, i.e., Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi. For purposes of comparison, similar data are presented for Black urban residents of these states and for both urban and rural residents of the South and of the United States as a whole.

POPULATION DECLINE

In 1910, the Black rural population reached a peak of 7.1 million persons. By 1960, that number had dropped to 5.1 million persons and by 1971, to only 4.2 million persons. A closer look at the decline in Black rural residents shows the movement to be away from the rural farm areas in particular. In 1920, the rural farm element of the Black population numbered about five million persons. Presently, that number is somewhat less than a half million persons, a figure lower than that for any previously recorded point in the nation's history. Meanwhile, the Black rural nonfarm population has gradually increased in number from 1.8 million persons in 1920 to 3.7 million in 1970.

Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi each reached the peak of Black rural population growth in 1910. In Arkansas, no doubt due to forces related to its location, the Black rural population continued to grow for another decade Currently all four states are experiencing a loss of Black rural residents. In Arkansas and Alabama this represents a decline in both rural farm and rural nonfarm Blacks. Mississippi had a 15.5 percent increase and Georgia a 2.0 percent increase in Black nonfarm population during the last decade.

There have been at least two apparent consequences of this decline in the Black rural population. First, whereas the Black population of these states were largely rural at the beginning of this century, they have become predominantly urban with the exception of Mississippi where the Black population was still 59.4 percent rural in 1970.

Secondly, there has been a diminishing ratio of Blacks to whites in the rural South. Within the past ten years that ratio has fallen from 1.4 to 1.10 in southern rural farm areas. In Mississippi, one of the last states to undergo this change, Blacks represented 41.9 percent of the total rural farm population in 1970 as compared to 54.8 percent a decade earlier. Decline in the ratio of Blacks to whites among rural nonfarm residents has been less dramatic but is still taking place.

Table 1

Black Population by Rural-Urban Residence: 1960 & 1970

	Population Size		Percent of Total		Percent Black	
	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	903,000	980,051	100.0	100.0	26.2	30.0
Rural Farm	45,179	124,664	5.0	12.7	20.3	30.9
Rural Nonfarm	294,936	298,962	32.7	30.5	24.4	28.0
Urban	562,885	556,425	62.3	56.8	28.0	31.0
Arkansas	352,539	388,140	100.0	100.00	18.3	21.7
Rural Farm	32,216	72,900	9.1	18.8	14.3	22.0
Rural Nonfarm	125,477	142,827	35.6	36.8	17.1	20.7
Urban	194,846	172,413	55.3	44.4	20.2	22.5
Georgia	1,184,062	1,120,999	100.0	100.0	25.8	28.4
Rural Farm	51,908	133,923	4.4	12.0	20.5	32.9
Rural Nonfarm	350,198	343,261	29.6	30.6	22.3	25.3
Urban	781,956	643,815	66.0	57.4	28.3	29.5
Mississippi	815,626	915,722	100.0	100.0	36.8	42.0
Rural Farm	109,504	297,725	13.4	32.5	41.9	54.8
Rural Nonfarm	374,674	324,325	45.9	35.4	38.7	39.8
Urban	331,448	293,672	40.6	32.1	33.6	35.8
South Total	11,957,005	11,304,008	100.0	100.0	19.0	20.6
Rural Farm	435,124	1,449,290	3.6	12.8	10.9	24.5
Rural Nonfarm	3,471,906	3,249,077	29.1	28.8	19.0	19.3
Urban	8,050,025	6,605,641	67.3	58.4	19.9	20.5
U.S. Total	22,549,815	18,846,619	100.0	100.0	11.1	10.5
Rural	447,109	1,481,985	2.0	7.8	4.2	11.0
Nonfarm	3,764,285	3,574,677	16.7	19.0	8.7	8.8
Urban	18,338,421	13,791,957	81.3	73.2	12.3	11.0

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Table 7

Age and Sex Composition of Black Population: 1960 & 1970

	Sex Ratio *		Median Age			
			Male		Female	
	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	88	91	19.4	18.9	23.4	22.3
Rural Farm	96	99	19.1	17.1	19.7	18.0
Rural Nonfarm	93	95	18.7	18.0	21.1	20.0
Urban	85	87	19.9	20.2	24.6	24.6
Arkansas	90	93	19.4	19.0	22.8	22.7
Rural Farm	96	101	19.5	16.8	19.9	17.7
Rural Nonfarm	96	96	18.7	18.4	20.5	20.7
Urban	86	88	19.8	21.5	24.1	27.0
Georgia	89	90	19.7	19.3	23.0	22.8
Rural Farm	95	98	18.8	16.6	19.8	17.3
Rural Nonfarm	95	97	18.6	18.0	20.3	19.4
Urban	85	86	20.6	21.5	[illegible]	25.9
Mississippi	90	93	18.2	17.4	20.7	19.8
Rural Farm	98	100	18.1	16.1	19.0	16.9
Rural Nonfarm	93	93	17.8	17.3	19.5	19.8
Urban	85	85	18.9	19.8	23.1	24.3
South Total	91	93	20.1	20.1	22.9	23.0
Rural Farm	99	101	19.3	17.0	20.1	17.5
Rural Nonfarm	96	99	18.7	19.0	20.6	20.1
Urban	88	89	20.8	22.5	23.9	25.5
U.S. Total	91	93	20.8	22.3	23.6	24.5
Rural Nonfarm	98	101	19.3	19.8	20.8	20.5
Urban	89	90	21.2	24.0	24.1	26.1

* Males per 100 females.

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION

In 1960, males outnumbered females within the Black rural farm and rural nonfarm populations. In contrast, within the Black population of the total United States, the ratio of males to females was only 93.100. During the recent past, there has been a drop in Black sex ratios for both urban and rural places—a consequence of national military conflict. As that conflict ends, Black sex ratios for the nation as a whole can be expected to stabilize and move upward.

In rural areas, Black sex ratios should decline still further, becoming more comparable to the national level. It has been the demand for man power in the rural farm labor force which created this male dominance in the rural Black population. As the rural population shifts to nonfarm occupations (without change of residence) the dominance of males should be modified.

The median age of rural Blacks has historically been lower than that of Blacks in urban places. However, the median age of rural Blacks presents a somewhat misleading impression. There is a relatively large proportion of children (under age 18) in the Black rural population. More than half the rural farm and rural nonfarm Black populations are under age twenty. There is also a large proportion of older persons within the Black rural population. Hence the age distribution is peaked at the two extremes but depressed in the middle. Current migration trends are producing further decreases in the proportion of younger rural Blacks. Consequently, the median age for rural farm Blacks is moving up while that for the Blacks in urban places is moving down.

FAMILY STABILITY AND SIZE

There are a number of indicators of greater family stability among rural Blacks than among those in urban places. One finds a greater proportion of Black rural adults in the "Married-Spouse-Present" category. This was true for nearly half of the Black male population living in rural areas in 1970 and almost as many of the Black Women. These proportions have fallen in recent years. In rural communities, there are far smaller proportions of Black married persons whose spouses are living but absent. For example, in Mississippi only 6.5 percent of the Black female adult rural farm population was married to a living-but-absent spouse in 1970. The comparable proportions for Black females in rural nonfarm and urban places were 10.3 percent and 15.4 percent respectively. A similar comparsion is found for Black males and females in the South as a whole and in each of the four states considered here.

One also finds a greater proportion of Blacks rural families with male heads. That proportion is more than eighty percent in each of the four rural farm areas and at least seventy-five percent in each of the rural nonfarm areas. Nearly two-thirds of the Black children living in rural farm areas of these four states are living with both of their parents. That proportion is closer to one-half for the Black children living in urban places of the four state. In each case, the indicators of family stability show rural places becoming more like the urban. However, a marked distinction remains. sAnother of the distinguishing characteristics of rural communities are the size of families. In 1970, more than half of the ever-married women within the Black rural farm population of Alabama had five or

Table 3

Composition of Black Families: 1960 & 1970

	Percent Husband-Wife		Percent with Child Present	
	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	67.6	73.0	56.1	54.4
Rural Farm	76.3	83.0	53.6	56.0
Rural Nonfarm	70.3	74.0	56.1	55.6
Urban	65.7	70.7	56.3	53.3
Arkansas	70.7	76.6	55.3	51.2
Rural Farm	82.0	86.8	52.5	55.1
Rural Nonfarm	74.5	78.3	55.8	52.6
Urban	66.6	71.8	55.5	48.8
Georgia	66.7	72.7	58.7	54.6
Rural Farm	76.3	83.7	57.5	60.7
Rural Nonfarm	71.9	75.3	59.4	58.1
Urban	64.1	69.8	58.5	52.0
Mississippi	69.0	75.8	58.0	55.4
Rural Farm	77.5	75.5	55.0	55.0
Rural Nonfarm	71.4	83.3	58.7	59.2
Urban	63.9	69.9	58.2	52.7
South Total	68.6	74.2	58.9	55.0
Rural Farm	78.2	84.0	54.6	59.7
Rural Nonfarm	72.4	75.7	58.4	56.1
Urban	66.5	71.8	59.3	53.6
U.S. Total	67.7	74.9	61.0	56.3
Rural Nonfarm	72.9	76.7	58.4	57.4
Urban	66.5	73.6	61.7	55.8

more children. A comparable proportion was found in Georgia and Mississippi. In contrast, only one-fourth of the Black ever-married women living in urban places of these states had as many children. Black women in rural farm areas had approximately two more children than their urban counterparts.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

On an almost universal basis, the level of education is increasing among Black Americans. The median number of school years completed by adult Black males moved up from 8.3 years in 1960 to 10.2 years in 1970. For Black females the gain was from 8.9 years to 10.6 years. Educational gainswere more modest among rural Blacks than among those in urban places. The difference is even more marked for males than for females. For example, in Mississippi, the level of education increased 1.1 years among Black females in both rural farm and urban areas during the 1960s. For Black males, the increase was 0.9 years for persons living in rural farm areas as compared to 1.5 years for those in urban places. Thus for males, the urban-rural discrepancy grew during the 1960s, while for females it tended to diminish.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONS

Although unemployment is much more difficult to identify among rural Blacks, it is no less present. On the basis of reported census data, it would appear that unemployment varies more by state than by urban-rural residence within states. Data on number of weeks worked per year more clearly show the absence of gainful employment for rural Black males. Census data indicated a much larger proportion of Black urban women in the labor force. This is valid only if one considers the traditional role of farm women as non-participation in the labor force.

One of the more marked changes in the Black rural occupational structure is the movement out of farming. A decade ago, nearly three-fourths of all Black male workers living in rural farm areas of Alabama were engaged in farming. At present that proportion is well below one-third of these workers. Similar changes are observed for male and female rural farm residents of each of the four states. The direction of current trends is the same for rural nonfarm Black residents, although the proportions were already low. They are finding employment in the blue collar, skilled and semi-skilled positions. This movement is accelerated by the flight of industry to rural areas and improved transportation for rural workers.

INCOME AND POVERTY

During the 1960s, income of Black families in the United States experienced nearly a one hundred percent increase. For Black families in rural nonfarm areas, the increase was well over one hundred percent while for Black families living in rural farm communities, income rose by almost two hundred percent over the last decade. Still, the income of Black families in rural areas is less than half as great as those living in urban places. Median family income for Black families in rural areas of Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi is less than $300.

Several federal government agencies have developed standards of family income based on agreed-upon norms of nutrition, clothing, housing, medical care,

Table 4

Median Years of School Completed by Blacks Age 25 and Over: 1960 & 1970

	Male		Female	
	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	7.4	5.8	8.5	7.0
Rural Farm	5.9	4.4	7.4	6.0
Rural Nonfarm	6.1	4.8	7.3	6.1
Urban	8.3	6.6	9.1	7.7
Arkansas	7.1	5.7	8.3	7.1
Rural Farm	6.0	5.0	7.6	6.6
Rural Nonfarm	6.3	5.1	7.9	6.6
Urban	8.0	6.6	8.6	7.6
Georgia	7.3	5.3	8.3	6.7
Rural Farm	5.3	3.9	7.4	5.8
Rural Nonfarm	5.2	4.3	7.3	5.9
Urban	8.0	6.2	8.8	7.2
Mississippi	6.5	5.1	8.1	6.7
Rural Farm	5.6	4.7	7.5	6.4
Rural Nonfarm	6.0	6.3	7.8	4.6
Urban	7.7	6.2	8.6	7.5
South Total	9.3	7.4	9.9	8.2
Rural Farm	7.3	5.9	8.6	7.3
Rural Nonfarm	8.1	6.5	8.9	7.5
Urban	10.0	8.1	10.4	8.7
U.S. Total	10.2	8.3	10.6	8.9
Rural Nonfarm	8.4	6.9	9.0	7.7
Urban	10.6	8.8	10.9	9.4

Table 5

Employment Status of Black Males and Females: 1960 & 1970

	Unemployed Males		Males Worked 0 - 26 Weeks		Women in Labor Force	
	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	5.7	8.9	16.1	19.0	39.8	37.5
Rural Farm	5.6	3.3	19.0	19.2	28.5	23.3
Rural Nonfarm	5.3	7.4	16.8	20.3	33.8	29.5
Urban	5.8	10.9	15.5	18.2	43.3	44.2
Arkansas	8.9	8.6	23.0	27.5	36.0	30.8
Rural Farm	10.2	4.4	31.0	29.0	22.8	13.0
Rural Nonfarm	9.8	8.9	16.8	20.3	28.1	21.9
Urban	8.2	10.1	19.8	24.0	42.4	43.4
Georgia	3.9	5.7	13.5	15.7	48.6	42.9
Rural Farm	2.6	2.6	13.3	16.5	37.8	27.9
Rural Nonfarm	3.6	5.6	14.9	18.3	43.3	36.5
Urban	4.2	6.5	12.9	14.0	51.2	48.3
Mississippi	7.0	6.3	20.4	21.8	38.1	34.4
Rural Farm	7.2	3.1	25.3	21.6	25.1	21.5
Rural Nonfarm	7.2	6.5	22.8	24.5	32.7	30.5
Urban	6.7	9.5	16.0	19.2	47.2	48.9
South Total	5.3	7.3	15.6	18.7	46.7	40.9
Rural Farm	4.7	3.1	14.3	21.2	29.6	24.4
Rural Nonfarm	5.5	7.5	18.3	23.2	39.3	32.9
Urban	5.2	8.1	21.4	15.9	50.3	47.4
U.S. Total	6.3	8.8	14.7	17.4	47.5	42.2
Rural Nonfarm	4.7	3.4	19.3	24.0	39.3	32.6
Urban	6.5	9.3	13.7	15.3	49.3	45.9

Note: Weeks worked are for previous year. 1960 figures are for ages 14 and up, 1970 for 16 and up.

Table 6

Income of Black Families: 1960 & 1970

	Under $1000		Under $5000		Median	
	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960
Alabama	10.3	25.8	60.0	88.6	4048	$2009
Rural Farm	14.7	48.5	72.4	96.1	2921	1005
Rural Nonfarm	11.9	34.3	69.4	93.4	3372	1550
Urban	8.8	17.4	54.3	84.9	4586	2558
Arkansas	9.9	30.9	67.7	94.0	3455	1636
Rural Farm	13.3	44.8	79.2	97.2	2728	1151
Rural Nonfarm	11.3	36.2	73.0	95.6	3014	1429
Urban	8.5	21.5	62.9	91.3	3870	2044
Georgia	7.3	20.4	52.7	88.4	4743	2188
Rural Farm	10.9	41.6	66.4	95.5	3554	1271
Rural Nonfarm	7.8	26.1	61.2	92.9	3976	1764
Urban	6.9	14.2	48.5	85.2	5159	2575
Mississippi	13.2	37.1	71.1	95.1	3202	1444
Rural Farm	16.9	51.3	80.9	97.1	2455	974
Rural Nonfarm	15.1	41.8	75.9	96.4	2868	1271
Urban	10.1	20.6	63.1	92.0	3865	2100
South Total	7.7	21.3	51.0	85.5	4897	2322
Rural Farm	11.5	44.2	70.5	95.5	3147	1199
Rural Nonfarm	9.4	28.8	61.9	92.0	3903	1773
Urban	6.9	14.0	45.8	81.0	5455	2843
U.S. Total	6.5	15.4	41.2	72.8	6063	3161
Rural Nonfarm	9.1	26.6	60.2	88.6	4027	1917
Urban	6.0	10.4	37.2	67.3	6578	3711

Table 7

Characteristics of Black Occupied Housing, 1970

	Median Rooms	Median Persons	Flush Toilet	Piped Water	Shower or Tub	Telephone	Owner Occupied
Alabama							
Rural	4.	3.6	28.4	39.4	28.0	40.5	54.2
Urban	4.5	3.0	88.6	93.1	83.1	70.2	48.4
Arkansas							
Rural	4.4	3.0	35.5	46.5	33.1	40.9	53.4
Urban	4.4	2.6	89.9	93.4	75.0	61.8	52.5
Georgia							
Rural	4.4	3.7	36.3	50.2	35.0	42.0	45.1
Urban	4.3	3.0	93.7	96.1	86.9	66.9	39.6
Mississippi							
Rural	4.1	3.6	32.3	41.1	30.6	31.1	50.0
Urban	4.1	2.9	90.2	93.8	76.0	57.7	48.1
South Total							
Rural	4.4	3.5	41.0	52.9	39.9	46.2	52.3
Urban	4.3	2.9	95.4	97.3	90.6	65.2	45.9
U.S. Total							
Rural	4.6	3.5	43.6	55.3	42.5	48.1	56.6
Urban	4.5	2.9	96.0	98.8	93.6	73.4	38.8

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etc. Families with income below that standard are said to be below the "threshold of poverty". In 1970, more than half of the nation's Black rural farm families were in that category. In Mississippi, approximately two-thirds of the Black rural farm families were beneath the threshold of poverty. In each of the four states, the proportion of rural nonfarm living in poverty was greater than that for rural farm families.

Mean income for Black families below the poverty level was only $2153. Their average income deficit (the amount needed to bring them to the minimal standard of adequacy) was $1832.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING

Census reports on Black rural housing indicate that, even at this point in the history of our economic and technoogical development, adequate housing has not been made available to the Black rural population. These data show that the majority of this housing lacks plumbing, does not have flush toilet facilities, is without shower or tub, has no running water, and does not have a telephone. In some ways, urbanization brought in satisfactory housing conditions for Blacks but with respect to these particular amenities, rural housing is much less adequate.

SUMMARY

In a real sense, the Black rural population is a vanishing breed. Those who remain are older, in larger and more stable family situations, have less formal education, less income, poorer housing and lower status jobs than their urban counterparts. The situation is improving, but this is little consolation given the rate of change. The issue is one of devising methods of mobilizing the rural Black population and available resources in an effort to accelerate improvement.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS OF COMMENDATIONS

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Thank you so much for your recent letter and the information on the project titled, "Developing a Sense of Community: Problem Definition and Research Priorities."

Your conference has all the appearances of being a success. I greatly appreciated your sending me the programs and brochures.

Please let me know if there is anything else I can do for you.

Hope we can get together for a visit the next time I am in West Point.

Sincerely,
DAVID R. BOWEN
Member of Congress
2d District, Mississippi
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Davis:

This letter is to express my appreciation for having the opportunity to sit in and share the very instructive experience your conference proved to be. Your selection of thoughtful and well informed participants greatly contributed to the high quality of the meeting. I sincerely hope that the major papers of the conference will be reproduced and distributed to all the guest.

Thank you again for the invitation, and I shall look forward to the second phase of your program, hopefully, within the next twelve to fifteen month period.

With sincere regards,

Robert H. Sharpley, M.D.
The Solomon Fuller Institute
127 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Congratulations on a very fine conference.

I thoroughly enjoyed the conference and found it extremely informative. I appreciate being given the opportunity to attend and participate in the conference.

Please do not hesitate to call upon me if I can be of any assistance in the future.

Sincerely,

Betty Lou Dotson
Assistant to the Administrator
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Food and Nutrition Service
Washington, D.C. 20250

Dear Mrs. Davis:

May I be one of the first to congratulate you in writing on the conference.

I was most impressed with the president, staff, and student body. The atmosphere was warm and friendly.

The food, lodging, program, and recreation were excellent.

I wish some one could compile a list of grants, cooperations, etc., where proposals could be written for funds to help solve problems of rural America with a research grant.

Thanks again for letting me substitute for Bob L. Adkinson. I will share my knowledge from the conference with him. Best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely,

ELTON TONEY
Human Rights Officer
ARVAE, Incorporated
Dardanelle, Arkansas 72834

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Thank you for the invitation to the recently held conference which you directed. I found it to be educational, knowledge-producing, and hopefully productive. The grass-roots questioning of the value of past social research will perhaps bring the sociologists attending the conference down from the lofty summit of knowledge for knowledge's sake to the need for social policy research having immediate applicability to contemporary problems. I only hope that my own small input into this conference was worthy of your kind invitation.

Thank you once again for your hospitality and dedication.

Sincerely,

Dr. John E. Johnson
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Brunswick Junior College
Brunswick, Georgia 31520

Dear Marcheta:

The conference was one of the most worthwhile that I have attended in a long time. It seems that you were unusually fortunate in your selection of conference coordinator resource persons, i.e., conference leader, invitees, group leaders, abstractors, presentees, etcertera. I was especially pleased with the breadth of representation of participants also. My congratulation to you!

It was quite encouraging how the conference did adhere to the theme, generally, and did get down to the business at hand. I thought the attendance was unusually good, I must admit this was the first conference I'd ever attended which included full days on Saturday and Sunday.

My knowledge was broadened, contacts enriched, and I feel quite fortunate to have been able to attend. Thank you.

Should you visit in Little Rock at any time, please let me know so I can extend to you my personal brand of "Arkansas" hospitality.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Carliss M. Howard, Manager
Arkansas Employment Security Division
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

ABOUT THE PROJECT—

The purpose of the Mary Holmes College Research Project on Rural Blacks is to collect, summarize, and evaluate selected research and policy relevant materials on the problems of rural Black residents in four southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi.

The general objective will be to define a sense of community based upon knowledge gained from research. The project will contribute to this definition by examining research that produces knowledge about common meeting grounds, attitudes, beliefs, socioeconomic status, institutions, and social relations among rural Blacks.

The project, thus, will bring together research materials on rural Blacks in order to improve knowledge about them and about what else needs to be known about this group. It is also expected that the project will serve as a basis for developing more specific research projects in the future which will be geared specifically toward problem solving.

A specific objective and important dimension of the project is to identify and convene a conference of scholars, scientists, decision makers, community leaders, grassroot individuals, and other specialists with expertise in the problems of rural Blacks. This group will discuss and outline research needs and determine research need priorities to aid program planning in the given areas of minority problems.

ABOUT THE CONFERENCE—

The Mary Holmes College Research Project Conference to which you are invited is the culminating activity of the total research project. And it is a unique conference in several ways.

To begin with, it is the first conference of its kind to be conducted at a Black educational institution in the State of Mississippi, and perhaps in the South. Yet, it is in Mississippi, and the South generally, that the heaviest rural Black population is concentrated.

Secondly, the uniqueness of the conference centers around its specific research thrust. Generally, research on the problems of Blacks has focused on the urban, low-income population in the Nation's major cities. Considerably less attention has been directed to a study of the rural Black population especially the relationship between the continuing migration of southern rural Blacks to the North and to the West and policy issues affecting employment, housing, education, and other needed, but non-existent, services.

The 1970 Census indicates that a substantial proportion of the southern Black population is rural. Moreover, it is this population which later migrates and becomes the urban Black population. Consequently, to research the needs of rural Blacks and to design functional programs for meeting these needs can become a preventive mechanism for some of the problems that might be faced by rural Blacks once they become a part of the urban Black population.

So then, the fact that this conference is designed to focus on researching the needs of rural Blacks before they migrate to urban areas makes for another aspect of its unique nature.

Additionally, although some research, demonstrations and action programs are supported by agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Commerce, studies on the characteristics of rural Blacks and guidelines of what, if any, additional data related to this group is needed, remain scattered and unorganized.

Another focus of the conference is that it will be a summary follow-up on the Research Project's objectives. The conference will summarize and evaluate the collected data from the research efforts of the project for the four states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia and Mississippi.

While the conference has the foregoing braod aim, the special focus of the conference is to determine the research needs of rural Blacks in the four state areas, to select need priorities, and to aid in program planning.

Finally, conference participants will discuss and identify mechanisms through which junior colleges in rural Black communities can serve as vehicles for data gathering, data analysis and storage, and providing Black rural junior college students with valuable research experience.

ABOUT THE PERSONNEL—

Mrs. Marcheta Z. Davis (M. Ed.) Project Director—Mrs. Davis received a Masters Education Degree with a Social Science minor from Tuskegee Institute in 1966. She has done further study in social science at the University of Chicago, has participated in workshops and conferences on the development of Black institutions sponsored by HEW and in summer institues sponsored by NSF. She has also written articles on the social science curriculum.

Miss Lula E. Petty (M.Ed.) Project Coordinator—English and Reading Instructor, Mary Holmes College.

Ozzie Edwards (Ph.D.) Project Consultant
Associate Professor of Sociology
University of Michigan in Ann Arbor
Research Consultant and Project Director
Detroit Urban League and New Detroit.

Maurice Jackson (Ph.D.) National Science
Foundation Consultant
Executive Specialist, Race and Minority Relations—American Sociaological Association.

Mrs. Florine Stewart—Project Secretary

CONFERENCE LEADER

Dr. Juluis S. Scott
Assistant to the President
Chairman of the Sociology Department
Spellman College
Atlanta, Georgia

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Student Research Assistants	
Brooks, Adell	Computer Science
Brown, Gwendolyn	Special Education
Brown, Sharon	Speech
Davis, Brenda	Computer Science
Gardner, William	Computer Science
Philpot, Angel	Hemapathology
Scott, Roberta	Mathematics
Tillmon, Derbert	Business
Ware, Kent	Computer Science
Watson, Donald	Computer Science

ABOUT THE INSTITUTION

Mary Holmes College is a predominantly Black liberal arts college located in Northeast Mississippi with a rural enrollment of approximately 400 students.

Although the College has traditionally been concerned about community development, it was in the 60's that it became even more actively involved in community efforts.

Mary Holmes played an important role in founding the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM). Since CDGM, the College's community extension programs have grown to include adult education, general community projects which focus on social and recreational services, and economic projects which center around the promotion of health facilities, education, and employment. These programs have been located in several counties throughout the State of Mississippi.

However, the institution's influence and involvement has not been restricted to the state of Mississippi. Mary Holmes has an association with a wide range of colleges, agencies, foundations, and churches outside the state—an association which enriches the College's programs, extends its vision, and increases its effectiveness as an agent of service.

MARY HOLMES COLLEGE

Research Conference

on

Rural Blacks

THEME: "Developing a Sense of Community: Problem Definition and Research Priorities"

Mary Holmes College
West Point, Mississippi 39773

September 14-17, 1973

Funded by the National Science Foundation, Research Applied to National Needs Branch

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	**Breakfast - College Cafeteria**
9:00 a.m.	Steering Committee (Conference Staff) Sage Memorial Gymnasium—Room 107
	Completion of Registration of Delegates Sage Memorial Gymnasium - Lobby
10:00 a.m.	Plenary Session Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr., Conference Leader Welcome and Greetings Dr. Joseph A. Gore, President, Mary Holmes College Mayor Kenny Dill Mr. Henry Myers Miss Gladys Handy Background of the Conference and Expectations Mrs. Marcheta Zuber Davis The Issues and the Agenda - Dr. Scott Introductions
11:30 a.m.	Get-acquainted Sessions in Discussion Groups
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.	LUNCHEON - College Cafeteria
1:30 - 2:30 p.m.	GENERAL ASSEMBLY Presiding: Mrs. Gladys Handy Presentation I: Dr. T. J. Pinnock, "The University and Its Role in Rural Community Development and Research"
2:45 - 3:45 p.m.	Discussion Groups: Module I Group I - Leader, Elvin Mackey, M.D., Recorder, Mrs. Donna Myhre—Room 106 Group II - Leader, Dr. Al McKeingly; Recorder, Mrs. Barbara Childs - Gymnasium Auditorium Group III - Leader, Dr. John Johnson; Recorder, Mrs. Jessie Barnette - Gymnasium Stage Group IV - Leader, Mr. James C. Smith; Recorder, Jerry Walker - Room III
4:00 - 4:30	Summary Findings: Presentation I Dr. Herrington Bryce, Abstractor - Gymnasium Auditorium
5:00 - 6:00 p.m.	DINNER - College Cafeteria

7:30 p.m.	FRIDAY EVENING SESSION Presiding: Dr. J. A. Gore, President Keynote Address: Dr. Vivian Henderson, President Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
9:00 p.m.	Steering Committee - Gymnasium, Room 107 Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr.
9:00 - 11:00 p.m.	Informal Reception for Delegates - Room 111
	SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15
8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	BREAKFAST - College Cafeteria
9:00 a.m.	Pleanary Session—Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr. Gymnasium Auditorium
9:15 - 10:15 a.m.	GENERAL ASSEMBLY Presiding: Dr. Tom McHale PresentationII: Mr. Elijah Coleman, "Reflections on the Socio-Economics of Rural Black Arkansans: 1973
10:30 - 11:30 a.m.	Group Discussions: Module II Group I - Leader, Dr. Elvin Mackey; Recorder, Mrs. Donna Myhre-Room 106 Group II - Leader, Dr. Al McKeingly; Recorder, Ms. Barbara Childs - Gymnasium Auditorium Group III - Leader, Dr. John Johnson; Recorder, Mrs. Jessie Barnette - Gymnasium Stage Groupe IV - Leader, Mr. James Smith, Recorder, C. Jerry Walker Room 111
11:30 - 12:00 Noon	Summary Findings: Presentation II Dr. Victor Phillips, Abstractor - Gymnasium Auditorium
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.	LUNCHEON - College Cafeteria
1:30 - 2:30 p.m.	GENERAL ASSEMBLY Presiding: Miss Betty Dotson Presentation III: Dr. Rommel Benjamin, "The Black Community: Emerging or Extant"
2:45 - 3:45 p.m.	Group Discussions: Module III Group I - Leader, Dr. George Thomas; Recorder, Mrs. Ruby Smith Room 106

	Group II - Leader, Mrs. Constance Slaughter; Recorder, Mr. Ollie Luster - Gymnasium Auditorium Group III - Leader. Mr. Robert Whitfield; Recorder, Mrs. Alice Givens - Gymnasium Stage Group IV - Leader, James Smith; Recorder, Mr. Rims Barber Room 11$
4:00 - 4:[illegible] p.m.	Summary Findings: Presentation III Dr. Mabel Smythe, Abstractor - Symnasium Auditorium
5:00 - 6:00 p.m.	DINNER - College Cafeteria
7:30 p.m.	Steering Committee - Gymnasium, Room 107 Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr.
8:00 p.m.	Gospel Festival and Celebration Presiding: Miss Lula E. Petty

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

9:00 - 10:00 a.m.	BREAKFAST - College Cafeteria
10:00 - 12:00 Noon	Steering Committee - Gymnasium, Room 107 Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr.
11:00 a.m.	Delegates may attend the Churches of their choice (Optional)
12:00 - 1:30 p.m	LUNCHEON - College Cafeteria
1:30 - 2:30 p.m.	GENERAL ASSEMBLY Presiding: Miss Christina Lundberg Presentation IV: Dr. Clara Johnson, "Adolescent Pregnancy: Intervention into the Poverty Cycle"
2:45 - 3:45 p.m.	Group Discussions: Module IV Group I - Leader, Dr. George Thomas; Recorder, Mrs. Ruby Smith. Room 106 Group II - Leader, Mrs. Constance Slaughter; Recorder, Mr. Ollie Luster - Gymnasium Auditorium Group III - Leader, Mr. Robert Whitfield; Recorder, Mrs. Alice Givens - Gymnasium Stage Group IV - Leader, James Smith; Recorder, Mr. Rims Barber Room 111

4:00 - 4:30 p.m	Summary Findings: Presentation IV Dr. Mary Harper, Abstractor - Gymnasium Auditorium
5:00 - 7:00 p.m.	COOKOUT- Northeast Campus
6:30 p.m.	Tour of Clay County (Optional)
8:00 - 10:00 p.m.	Rap Sessions with Mary Holmes College Faculty and Students Men's Red Carpet Lounge Steering Committee - Gymnasium, Room 107 Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott, Jr.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	BREAKFAST - College Cafeteria
9:00 - 11:00 a.m.	Final Plenary Session - Summary Findings of the Conference Presiding: Dr. Julius S. Scott Conference Evaluation Consultants: Dr. Ozzie Edwards, Dr. Maurice Jackson Recommendations Resolutions Adjournment

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

ADDISON, Donald P.	Assistant Professor of Sociology	North Carolina Central University	Durham, North Carolina
ANDERSON, Lena	Information Specialist Human Resources Development Center	Tuskegee, Institute	Tuskegee, Alabama
BARBER, Rims	Executive Director	The Delta Ministry	Jackson, Mississippi
BATTLE, Jessica	Coordinator—Mental Health	Lee County Headstart	Hurtsboro, Alabama
BARNETT, Jessie	Community Worker	Voter Education Project	Athens, Georgia
BARNES, Jimmie F.	Assistant Professor of Sociology	Mississippi Valley State College	Itta Bena, Mississippi
BARNEY, Ramona	Tutor	New Communities, Inc.	Leesburg, Georgia
BENJAMIN, Rommel	Professor of Sociology	Jackson State College	Jackson, Mississippi
BENNETT, H. B.	Farmer	Clay County	West Point, Mississippi
BERRY, A. Wilkes	Finance Officer	Prairie Opportunity, Inc.	Starkville, Mississippi
BOLTON, Gaylor	Assistant Professor of Sociology	Columbus College	Columbus, Georgia
BRIDGES, Ella	Community Leader		Tylertown, Miss.

BROUSSARD, Sharon	Research Assistant	Voter Education Project	Atlanta, Georgia
BRYCE, Herrington	Research Assistant	Joint Center for Political Studies	Washington, D. C.
BUNN, Calvin	Director, Counseling Center	Brunswick Jr. College	Brunswick, Georgia
BUNTON, Frank	Retired Principal	Lonoke Public School System	Lonoke, Arkansas
BUTLER, Bennie	Barber & Farmer	Higgins & Butler	Starkville, Mississippi
BUTTS, W. A.	Head, Division of Arts and Science	Mississippi Valley State	Itta Bena, Mississippi
CHILDS, Barbara	Administrative Assistant for Extension Services	Alabama A & M University	Normal, Alabama
COBBS, Nimrod	Associate Professor, Adult Education, Specialist in Agribusiness Education	Alabama A & M University	Normal, Alabama
COFFEY, John	Chief, Education and Training Branch, Equal Employment Opportunity	Health Services and Mental Health Administration	Rockville, Maryland
CUNNINGHAM, Charles	Executive Director	Central Arkansas Development, Inc.	Benton, Arkansas
DANIEL, Johnnie	Assistant Professor of Sociology	Howard University	Washington, D. C.
DAVIS, Johnny	Minister	Church of God	West Point, Mississippi

DEFONEY, Betty	Social Worker	Community Action Program	England, Arkansas
DERAMUS, Lawrence	President	South Alabama Community Development Cooperative	Troy, Alabama
DILL, Kenneth	Mayor		West Point, Mississippi
DOTSON, Betty	Assistant to the Administrator	Food & Nutrition Service USDA	Washington, D. C.
EDWARDS, Ozzie	Professor of Sociology	University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Michigan
ELLIS, Robert	Professor and Department Head, Sociology	University of Georgia	Athens, Georgia
FIGGERS, Frank	Community Worker	Jackson Human Rights Project	Jackson, Mississippi
FIGURES,Michael	Attorney	Chestnut, Sanders, & Sanders	Selma, Alabama
GAPASIN, Dony	Extension Horticulturist	Alabama A & M University	Normal, Alabama
GAYER, H. Kenneth	Director, Office of Exploratory Research & Problem Assessment	National Science Foundation	Washington, D. C.
GIBBS, David	Project Director, Head Start	Prairie Opportunity, Inc.	Starkville, Mississippi
GIVENS, Alice	Executive Director	Lonoke Council on Human Relations	Lonoke, Arkansas
GRAY, Betty	Member	Georgia Sociological & Anthropological Association	Martinez, Georgia

HARPER, Mary	Assistant Chief, Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs	Department of Health, Education and Welfare	Washington, D. C.
HANDY, Gladys	Program Manager, Office of Exploratory Research and Problem Assessment	National Science Foundapion	Washington, D. C.
HOUSE, Thelma	Social Worker	Wesley Education Associates	Louisville, Mississippi
HOWARD, Corliss	Manager	Arkansas Employment Security Division	Little Rock, Arkansas
HUDSON, Winson (Mrs.)	President	NAACP	Carthage, Mississippi
JACKSON, Barnetta	Information Specialist	Voter Education Project	Atlanta, Georgia
JACKSON, John	Deputy Director	Prairie Opportunity, Inc.	Starkville, Mississippi
JACKSON, Maurice	Associate Professor of Sociology	University of California	Riverside, California
JENKINS, Charles	Organizer	Rural Coalition	Jackson, Mississippi
JENNINGS, Jeanette	Assistant Professor of Social Work	University of Mississippi	University, Mississippi
JOHNSON, A.D.	Laboratory Technician	Mississippi State University	Miss. State, Mississippi
JOHNSON, Clara	Research Associate	University of Georgia	Athens, Georgia
JOHNSON, John E.	Assistant Professor of Sociology	Brunswick Jr. College	Brunswick, Georgia

JONES, C. J.	Business Development Specialist	Southern Cooperative	Auburn, Alabama
KALT, William	Staff Associate	SEDERE, INC.	New York, N. Y.
KARCHER, Barbara	Instructor	Department of Social Science Georgia Tech.	Atlanta, Georgia
KILGORE, James	Psychological Counselor	Mississippi State University	Miss. State, Mississippi
KOLB, James	President	Black and White Co-op. Division	Luverne, Alabama
LEVERETT, Harold	Businessman		Wrens, Georgia
LEWIS, Minnie	Community Program Worker	Mississippi Headstart Training Program	Carthage, Mississippi
LUNDBERG, Christina	Parent Development Coordinator	Headstart Training Coordinator Council	Jackson, Mississippi
LUSTER, Ollie	Director, Adult Education	Alabama A & M University	Normal, Alabama
LYON, Hugh	Staff Assistant-Budget Div.	National Science Foundation	Washington, D. C.
MACKEY, Elvin	Director, Minority Group Programs	American Psychiatric Association	Washington, D. C.
McDONALD, Phillip	McCartney, Mannings, McDonald & Guinn, Inc., Ins.		Newport, Arkansas
McHALE, Tom	Department of Social Welfare	Univessity of Arkansas	Fayetteville, Arkansas
McKEIGNEY, Alex	Division Manager	Mississippi Research & Development Center	Jackson, Mississippi

MERRITT, Milton	Executive Director	Local Branch, NAACP	Tifton, Georgia
MILLER, Corevia	Payroll Clerk-Bookkeeper	Wesley Education Association, Inc.	Louisville, Mississippi
MILLER, G.T.	Owner	G.T. Miller Feed and Grist Mill	Luverne, Alabama
MILLER, Larry	Neighborhood Services Director	Prairie Opportunity, Inc.	Starkville, Mississippi
MYHRE, Donna	Executive Secretary Tombigbee Council on Human Relations	Miss. State University	Miss. State, Mississippi
MYLES, Henry	Field Representative to David Bowen	District 2	Cleveland, Mississippi
NORWOOD, Waymon	Clerk	Dental Office	Ft. Stewart, Georgia
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RICHBURG, Marvin	Farmers	Black & White Co-op	Luverne, Alabama
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SMITH, James	Executive Director	Rural Coalition of Miss. Communities Organization	Jackson, Mississippi
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TAYLOR, Joseph	Attorney	Committee for Civil Rights	Washington, D.C.
TERRELL, David	Assistant Director	Jackson Human Rights Project	Jackson, Mississippi
TONEY, Elton	Human Rights Officer	Arkansas River Valley Area Corporation	Dardanelle, Arkansas

THOMAS, Catherine	Recreational Leader	Community Action Program	Mineral Springs, Ark.
THOMAS, Earl	Associate Professor of Sociology	Miss. State University	Miss. State, Mississippi
THOMIE, Oscar	Executive Director	Local NAACP	Warner Robins, Georgia
THOMPSON, Lyell	Professor of Agronomy	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville, Arkansas
WALKER, Charles	Field Coordinator	Students and Civic Organization for Revitalization of Education	Blytheville, Arkansas
WHEELOCK, Jerry	Associate Professor	Alabama A & M University	Normal, Alabama
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CONFERENCE EVALUATION

A Conference of this sort varies in utility for those who attend. Some notion of the extent to which this experience was beneficial to participants is provided in the letters included in this Appendix. A deliberate effort to assess the value of the Conference took the form of questionnaires completed by participants at the onset and termination of the sessions. From these questionnaires we have the following summarized evaluation of the utility of the Conference to those who took part.

Participants were asked, at the point of registration, why they had come to this Conference on Rural Black Life. More than nine of ten (91.5) stated that they had come for the purpose of gaining additional information concerning the life and conditions of the rural Black population and or to learn more effective means of coping with related problems. Two of three participants (66.2) said they came with the expectation of making contacts with persons working on the problems of rural Blacks. When asked for more detail concerning the function of these contacts, they indicated that contact not only provides opportunity for shared information but also gives a psychological boost and develops an important pool of resources. Almost half of the participants (46.7) stated that they came to these sessions with the expressed intent of sharing their knowledge and experience with others, i.e., as teachers. This is to be expected since the participants were selected on the basis of their ability to do just that.

In the post-conference questionaire, participants indicated what they had in fact received from the experience. Some 51.9 percent listed contact as the primary benefit which the Conference held for them. Another 33.3 percent stated that their foremost benefit was gaining information concerning the conditions of rural Blacks and or methods of improving these conditions. All of the participants expressed the feeling that the conference had been of some benefit to them and merited the time and costs involved.

A second pre-conference inquiry sought from participants some indication of the areas of Black rural life where knowledge-gaps are greatest. Responses were "economics" (30.2), "politics" (23.3), and "employment" (20.9). As the Conference progressed, it became clear that what was sought was practical information concerning methods of dealing with these issues. In the post-conference questionnaire, some 36 percent of the participants stated that they had learned more about the politics of Black rural life than about any other issue. Another 32 percent stated that their greatest gain in information had been with regard to the economics of Black rural life. There is some question that the kind of information gained was as pragmatic as some participants hoped it might be. However, it is clear that the issues which were of primary importance to persons working in the areas were those dealt with at the Conference.

The Conference did have something of a moderating or "broadening" effect on the thinking of some of those who took part. At the outset, some 58.3 percent of the participants listed "economics" as the single most important problem facing

rural Blacks. If we include those who listed "employment", that total jumps to 69.9 percent. As the Conference progressed and the problems of the rural black community were discussed in detail, it became clear to most that the issues are not so unidimensional. By the end of the sessions, some 40.5 percent of the participants gave "economics" as the single most important problem facing rural Blacks. (Including "employment", this figure would be 59.4) The proportion listing "politics" as the most important issue increased from 3.3 percent to 32.4 percent. Those listing other issues as most important decreased from 26.7 percent to 8.2 percent. The net effect of the Conference was to shift opinion in the direction of the importance of "politics" in improving the conditions of rural Blacks.

For the most part, participants were convinced of the validity of sharing the Conference with persons from other states. At the outset, nearly two-thirds (61.9) stated that their problems were very much the same as those of persons from other areas. Another 25.4 percent were uncertain and 12.7 percent stated that the problems of rural Blacks in their state differed from those of rural Blacks in other states. At the end of the Conference, the proportion who saw the problems of rural Blacks in other states had risen to 87.8 percent. The proportion of persons who were uncertain had fallen to 3.7 percent while the proportion who felt that problems differ remained about the same. The r apparently that of convincing those who had uncertainties. Little impac s made on those already persuaded that problems of rural Blacks differ by state.

As to the most effective mechanism for dealing with the problems of rural Blacks, there was not a great deal of concensus before or after the Conference. Most participants were convinced of the necessity of a multi-faceted attack. When pressed to indicate a single most effective approach, some 41.3 percent indicated "legislation" as being that approach. Another 21.7 percent indicated "education". It became clear during the conference that education does not mean simply formal academic instruction but pragmatic principles of attacking current problems is what is in view. Some 15.2 percent of the participants specified "community organization" as the prime method for resolving Black rural problems. That term is somewhat ambiguous in that some included it as a means to other modes of attack while others listed it as an end in itself.

The overall assessment of the Conference must certainly be a positive one, given the responses of the participants. This is not to say that there are no areas in which improvement might be made in the future. It was suggested by several participants that the Conference be of more limited duration (perhaps two days) so that more persons might attend. Additional evening sessions might be included so as to permit working laymen greater opportunity to participate. There were those who felt that future efforts should be more specific, given the basic groundwork accomplished in these sessions. The approach might be that of a number of brief conferences addressed to very specific topics. This, of course, has decided disadvantages with respect to costs. Perhaps these would be offset by the gains in information. Whatever the format, it was largely concluded that the Mary Holmes College Conference on Black Rural Life should be the precursor for similar efforts. It serves to highlight a very definite need, i.e., the sharing of information and joint-planning to attack the problems of Black rural life. A useful first-step has been taken. Larger and more productive efforts must follow.

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